<全文>Rethinking "Japanese Studies" from Practices in the Nordic Region

year	2014-03-31
その他の言語のタイトル	<全文>「日本研究」再考 : 北欧の実践から
シリーズ	北欧シンポジウム 2012 Overseas Symposium in Copenhagen 2012
URL	http://id.nii.ac.jp/1368/00006419/

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Edited by Liu Jianhui and Sano Mayuko

劉 建輝・佐野 真由子 編

OVERSEAS SYMPOSIUM IN COPENHAGEN 2012

International Research Center
for
Japanese Studies

国際日本文化研究センター

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ISSN 0915–2822

First edition published March 2014
by the International Research Center for Japanese Studies
3–2 Oeyama-cho, Goryo, Nishikyo-ku, Kyoto 610–1192, Japan
Telephone: (075) 335–2222 Fax: (075) 335–2091
URL: http://www.nichibun.ac.jp

Foreword

The International Research Center for Japanese Studies (Nichibunken), over three days (22–24 August) in 2012, hosted its Nineteenth Overseas Symposium—"Rethinking 'Japanese Studies,' from Practices in the Nordic Region"—jointly with the Section of Japanese Studies and the Asian Dynamics Initiative (ADI) at the University of Copenhagen. This volume contains papers that were presented at the symposium, which were revised based on discussions at the site.

Following its mission, Nichibunken has held overseas symposia annually in different parts of the world since 1995 to encourage academic exchange through Japanese Studies. In 2012, one such symposium was held in the Nordic region for the first time. It aimed to bring together scholars at the cutting edge of Japanese Studies, not only from the host country Denmark, but also from other Scandinavian countries in order to pursue and develop academic discussions with Japanese scholars and those further afield, and to build long-lasting networks. The symposium also aimed to provide an opportunity for academic exchange among scholars within the Nordic region, a seemingly infrequent occurrence. I believe the symposium achieved its aim thanks to the help and cooperation among all those concerned.

In the year preceding the symposium, I visited the Nordic region and its neighboring countries to learn about the circumstances under which Japanese Studies were pursued. As the person in charge of the symposium, I was very impressed to see that the courageous attempts undertaken by Japan scholars to overcome conventional disciplinary divisions or established divisions among Area studies, centered on main universities of each country, were producing tangible results. Some scholars also told me that the Nordic region was geographically distant and its scholarly conditions are different from conventional Japanese Studies centers, such as those in the United States and some Western European countries, where there was a long history of Japanese Studies and a large number of scholars, and therefore it was easier for Nordic scholars to try out new frameworks for research. They added that they found their strength in this and wanted to make the most of their environment. I also observed that the new generation of researchers was nurtured with passion and belief in such strength of the region.

The main theme of the symposium—to rethink Japanese Studies from practices of the Nordic Region—was born from this context. Following its spirit, two sessions—"From Religion to Popular Culture: New Readings of Texts and Spaces" and "Japan and Europe: Leading to Globalized 'Japanese Studies'"—were set up to make the most of concrete research themes pursued by scholars in the Nordic region and to highlight their direction. The Nineteenth Overseas Symposium Committee set up at Nichibunken, led by the Chair, Professor Yamada Shōji (at the symposium, Professor Liu Jianhui assumed the position because Professor Yamada was on sabbatical), engaged in serious and meaningful discussions to determine the content for the symposium. I believe these discussions also reflected the passion of the Japan scholars in the Nordic region.

Needless to say, there were lively discussions on large and small points at the symposium. Regarding the big issue of "rethinking 'Japanese Studies'," a view that it was important to relativize "Japan" as a place or a case within a global context while focusing one's research on "Japan," was expressed repeatedly from various angles. In editing this volume we followed the structure of the symposium with two sessions, but made some changes to the order of the papers in an attempt to better organize the content. The publication is different from the symposium which also included discussion sessions to exchange views. Please note that the "mini keynote lectures" by Professors Mark Teeuwen and Yoichi Nagashima, who served as the conveners for each session, and the welcome speech by Professor Ulf Hedetoft, Dean of the Faculty of Humanities at the University of Copenhagen are included as spoken on the spot, with each author's consent.

Lastly, I would like to thank once again the authors who contributed to this publication. I would also like to acknowledge those who took part in the symposium as commentators or discussants (names are listed in the symposium program at the end of the volume). I extend my special appreciation to Professor Yoichi Nagashima of the University of Copenhagen who, for a long time, was in charge of preparations on the Copenhagen side, and also to Professor Marie Roesgaard, who introduced ADI of the University, as Head of its steering group, to this symposium, as well as Ms. Mary Yoshida, Coordinator of ADI, who took charge of the logistics at the symposium in a perfect manner. From Nichibunken, without the help and cooperation from Mr. Yuki Toshitake and Mr. Okamura Tomoaki of the International Projects Unit, none of this enterprise—from organizing the symposium to publication of this volume—would have been realized. We also received indispensable help from Ms. Shiraishi Eri of the Publications Office at Nichibunken in preparing this volume.

Thanks to the help and teamwork of all the people involved, it is my pleasure to bring to you, the reader, this volume filled with attempts to review the possibilities of Japanese Studies.

Sano Mayuko
The Nineteenth Overseas Symposium Committee
Associate Professor, Office of Overseas Research Exchange,
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序　文

2012 年 8 月 22–24 日の 3 日間にわたり、デンマークの首都コペンハーゲンにおいて、コペンハーゲン大学日本学科ならびにアジアン・ダイナミクス・イニシアティブ（ADI）との共催により、国際日本文化研究センター（日文研）第 19 回海外シンポジウム「『日本研究』再考――北欧の実践から」（Rethinking “Japanese Studies,” from Practices in the Nordic Region）が開催されました。この論集は、同シンポジウムでの講演・発表のために準備され、当日の議論を経て参加者各位がまとめ直された論文を収録したものです。

日文研は、そのミッションに従い、日本研究を通じたさらなる学術交流の促進を目的として、1995 年度から毎年、世界の異なる地域で海外シンポジウムを開催してきましたが、昨年度、初めて北欧でこれを実現することができました。開催国デンマークのみならず、スカンディナビア各地に拠点を持つ第一線の日本研究者に広くお集まりいただき、日本、さらには他の地域の研究者との間で議論を深め、今後に続くネットワークを築く場とすること、同時に、通常は必ずしも頻繁でないと聞く、域内研究者どうしの学術交流の機会を提供することを、大きな目的として掲げましたが、全関係者のご協力をもって、それをよく達成することができたと考えております。

開催の前年、本シンポジウムの準備のため、担当者として北欧および近隣諸国を回り、現地の日本研究状況を勉強させていただいた折、きわめて印象的だったのは、各国の主要大学を中心に、従来の学問領域や縦割りの地域研究を超えようとする日本研究者たちの果敢な挑戦が、目に見える形で進行している様子でした。日本研究の歴史が厚く研究者人口も多い米国や、西欧のいくつかの国々と異なり、地理的にもそれらの中心から離れた北欧地域だからこそ、新しい枠組みでの研究を試行しやすい、そこに自分たちの環境の利点を見出していきたいとの声も聞かれました。次世代の研究者たちもまた、そうした信念のもとに熱意を込めて育成されていることが、手に取るように感じられました。

「北欧の実践から」、「日本研究」を「再考する」、という本シンポジウムの大テーマは、そこから生まれたものです。また、そのもとでの二つのセッション「テキストと空間の新しい読みをめぐって――宗教からポピュラー・カルチャーまで」「日本とヨーロッパ――グローバル化された『日本研究』に向けて」は、現地で実際に活躍しておられる方々の持つ具体的な研究テーマを最大限に生かし、その方向性に光を当てることを考えて設定されました。日文研内に設けられた第 19 回海外シンポジウム実行委員会では、こうした内容を導き出す過程で、山田奨治委員長（シンポジウム開催時の委員長は、山田教授海外研修のため、劉建輝教授に交代）のもと、熱く有意義な議論が重ねられましたが、それもまた、北欧で日本研究に従事しておられる方々の熱意を反映したものであったと思います。

シンポジウムの場で、大小の論点をめぐり活発な議論が行われたことは言うまでもありませんが、「『日本研究』再考」という大きな問題については、「日本」という素材に研究の焦点を定めつつも、それを一つの場、もしくは事例として、世界大の関心の中で相

対化していく意識が重要であるとの考え方が、さまざまな角度から示唆されました。本論集の編集にあたっては、二つのセッションによるシンポジウムの構成をそのまま継承しつつも、自由討論を含めた会議それ自体とは異なる紙上の編纂物として、そうした議論の方向性がよりよく伝わるよう、当日のプログラムから掲載順を若干変更するなどの工夫をいたしました。なお、各セッションのコンヴィーナーを務められたマーク・テーウェン、長島要一の各氏による「ミニ・キーノート・レクチャー」、ならびに、共催校を代表してレセプションを催してくださった、コペンハーゲン大学ウルフ・ヒデトフト人文学部長のウェルカム・スピーチに関しては、ご本人の了解を得て、当日の原稿をそのまま収録しております。

最後に、本冊の執筆者ないしシンポジウムでの発表者各位はもとより、当日の議論にコメンテーター、または、ディスカッサントとしてご参加いただいた皆さまへ、あらためて御礼申し上げます（お名前は巻末のシンポジウム・プログラムに掲載されています)。また、シンポジウム開催まで長期にわたり、現地側の準備をすべて引き受けてくださった、コペンハーゲン大学の長島要一教授、同大学アジアン・ダイナミクス・イニシアティブを本事業参画へと導かれたマリー・ロースゴー運営委員長、そして、細部にわたり万全の運営をしてくださった同イニシアティブ専属コーディネーター、マリー・ヨシダさんへの感謝を込めて、ここにお名前を記させていただきます。そして日文研においては、研究協力課国際事業係の幸俊烈係長、同係・岡村友章さんのご尽力がなければ、シンポジウムの開催から論集出版までを含め、本事業は実現しませんでした。出版のための作業にはさらに、資料課出版編集室・白石恵理さんのお力が欠かせませんでした。

多くの方々とのチームワークを経て、日本研究の持つ可能性を見直す試みの詰まったこの論集を、こうして読者のもとにお届けできることをうれしく存じます。

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日本の妖怪観念の基層を考える〔要旨〕

Reflections on Japanese Yōkai Culture [Abstract]

小松和彦
Komatsu Kazuhiko

日本の「妖怪」にはたくさんの種類がある。こうした妖怪の特徴を考えようとするとき、その基層にある信仰的な観念や文化的な背景を理解することが大切である。

以下に、その主要な特徴を列挙してみよう。

(1) 古来、日本人の信仰の基層には、いわゆるアニミズムと呼ばれる観念があるとされてきた。アニミズムとは、自然界のあらゆる事物は、具体的な形象をもつとともに、そのそれぞれに固有の霊魂や精霊などといった超自然的存在、いいかえれば霊的存在（カミ、タマシイ）が宿っており、事物が作り出す諸現象には、その霊的存在の意思が働いているとみなす信仰である。この観念で重要なのは、この霊的存在は人間と同様に意思をもつ、つまり思考し喜怒哀楽を感じるとみなされていることである。例えば、山や川、木や水、岩などには霊魂が宿っており、その霊が人間に対して邪念・悪意を抱いて災厄をもたらすことになれば、それらの霊はいずれも「妖怪」もしくは「妖怪的な存在」となる。つまり、自然界に存在するあらゆる事物の霊魂は、潜在的な妖怪的存在であるといえるのである。自然の精霊の妖怪化として、蛇や狐、蜘蛛、鳥（鳶）などを挙げることができる。

(2) こうしたアニミズム的観念は、日本では自然物を加工して作り出した器物・道具のたぐいにまで拡張されてきた。すなわち、器物・道具にも霊魂・精霊が宿っており、扱い次第で人間に災厄をもたらすと考えられた。つまり、器物や道具の霊魂は潜在的な妖怪的存在であるといえる。こうした観念によって、たくさんの器物・道具の妖怪が生み出された。これらの妖怪は「つくも神」と呼ばれている。

(3) こうした霊的存在の悪意が顕現化したとき、古代から中世頃の日本人は、通常、それを「鬼」もしくは「鬼神」と呼んだ。つまり、鬼とはさまざまな邪悪化した霊魂・精霊の総称であって、これらの「鬼」が夜になって群行する様子を、「百鬼夜行」と称した。したがって、鬼は今日の「妖怪」に相当する。また、これらの鬼は、今日の画一化された、角をもった筋骨たくましい鬼のイメージに留まらず、その出自を暗示する属性を留めるかたちで表現された。この結果、妖怪図像も多様化することになった。

(4) 日本では、さまざまな怪異現象に「名づけ」がなされた。この「名づけ」には、怪異現象を引き起こした霊的存在を想定し、その霊的存在の名前を用いた名づけがなされる場合と、怪異現象の状態をそのまま表すような名づけがなされる場合があった。例

えば、深山で木が伐り倒されるような怪音がした場合、それを年取った杣の霊が引き起こしている怪音と考えて「古杣（ふるそま）」という怪異現象と命名した。深山の谷で、こちらが「おーい」と声を出すと谷の向こうから「おーい」と返答がある。これを怪異現象として「やまびこ」「こだま」と称するが、これはこの怪音を引き起こしたのが「山彦」（山の男）あるいは「木の魂」であると考えられたからである。この霊は「百鬼夜行」（群行するたくさんの鬼）の一種であるが、しかしその造形化がなされたときには、鬼とは異なる個性的な形象が与えられたのであった。

(5) 怪異現象の状態をそのまま表すような名づけの例として、例えば「小豆洗い」という怪異現象を挙げることができる。これは深山に泊まったときに、谷川から小豆を洗っているような怪音が聞こえてくる現象である。これを「小豆洗い」とか「小豆とぎ」などと称した。この呼称は、この怪音が小豆を洗う音に似ていることからきているにすぎないのだが、これもやがて「存在化」して、「超自然的存在」が引き起こしている現象とみなされ、さらにその超自然的存在それ自身までが「小豆洗い」と呼ばれることになっていった。つまり、「小豆洗い」という現象は「小豆洗い」という妖怪が引き起こしている怪異現象となっていったのである。留意すべきは、「小豆洗い」という妖怪は、小豆を洗うことしかできない妖怪であり、これが妖怪のキャラクター化へとつながっていったようである。

(6) 妖怪の絵画化・造形化は「百鬼夜行」の図像化として始まったようである。この「鬼」は、中国から伝来した鬼の図像をもとにしていたものと思われるが、やがてそれぞれの出自がわかるような図像へと変化していった。例えば、鳥の「鬼」ならば鳥の属性を、道具の「鬼」ならば道具の属性を留めた「鬼」の図像を描こうとしたのである。その結果、多様な姿かたちをした鬼の図像が作られ、多様な「妖怪」の図像が生み出されることになった。

(7) 中世から近世へと至る過程で、超自然的存在、妖怪的存在への信仰心つまりそれらが実在するという観念が衰退し、小説家や絵師たちは、宮崎駿が自作のアニメーションのなかでトトロという精霊（妖怪）を創り出したように、過去に生み出された妖怪の造形を参考にしながら、自分の想像によってこれまで存在していなかった妖怪を創り出し、それを楽しむようになっていった。こうした小説家や絵師たちが創り出した妖怪たちもまた、多くの人々に受け入れられることによって、日本の妖怪文化史の一角を占めるようになっていった。つまり、フィクションのなかの妖怪たちもまた、日本の妖怪の仲間なのである。今も、古い時代の妖怪とともに新しい妖怪たちが生み出されているのである。

(8)「幽霊」とは、人間の死者の魂が生前の姿でこの世にさ迷い出てきたものをいう。この幽霊もまた、妖怪の一種である。この世に出没する理由はさまざまである。妻や夫、恋人への未練から、あるいは生前の約束を果たすために、あるいは怨みを晴らすために、等々。そのなかでも怨霊の場合は、古来、その姿かたちが鬼となって出現するとも考えられていた。ところが、江戸時代以降、怨霊は個性をもった人間の造形イメージで描かれることが多くなってきた。これによって幽霊の種類は格段に多くなったのであった。例えば、「東海道四谷怪談」のお岩、「番町皿屋敷」のお菊、等々。

以上、簡単にではあるが、その妖怪観を支える主要な特徴を述べてみた。

日本の妖怪文化史、とりわけ妖怪画の伝統は、こうした信仰的伝統や文化的特徴のなかから生み出されてきたのであり、したがって、妖怪文化を読み解くためには、多角的な観点からのアプローチが必要である。近年、妖怪文化史の復元が試みられ、それに伴って妖怪画の発掘が盛んに進められているが、まだ十分とはいえない状態にある。

What is Japanese about Japanese Philosophy?

Rein Raud

Exactly seventy-three years after the angry crowds of Paris stormed the Bastille, on 14 July 1862, a ship set sail from the port of Shinagawa with a man on board who was to change the conceptual landscape of Japanese thought. In Nagasaki, he was transferred to the Dutch vessel Kallipus carrying a group of medicine students on their way to Europe. That ship, however, floundered in Batavia, and another one called Ternate took the group on board. Their entire journey lasted for eight months, during which the students got well acquainted with each other and started to contribute toward each other's intellectual development. It was then that our protagonist made the contribution for which he is primarily known these days.

His name was Nishi Amane, and his deed was coining a new word to designate "philosophy."

A New Way of Thinking

Dissatisfied with his own intellectual tradition and an ardent admirer of the West, Nishi sought to bring to Japan a way of thinking that would be radically different from Confucianism, not to speak of Buddhism, which he considered to be vulgar and archaic. "The civilization and institutions of the United States and England, I believe, surpass Yao and Shun, who ruled by popular will," he had written to Matsuoka Rinjirō a few months prior to his departure (Havens 1970: 44), and more than that: these institutions were not the expression of the singular will of a monarch, however wise, but the systematic manifestation of underlying principles that had been discovered by the discipline of the mind. This discipline is what he considered a necessary condition for Japan to develop in the same direction. Not "the seeking of wisdom," called *kiken* (Japanese reading) by the great Song Neo-Confucianist Zhou Dunyi (1017–73) in his *Taiji Tushuo*, but "the seeking of clarity," *kitetsu*, is what the mind must practice in order to be able to establish a system of social, political and economic order that a civilised modern nation has to have. Just like many of his compatriots of the time, Nishi was initially thinking that the roots of this system might be found in the doctrines of Christianity, but quite soon he realised this is not the case: in a letter written in the next year to professor Johann Joseph Hoffmann, a German scholar working at Leiden University, he already acknowledges that the systems of Descartes, Locke, Hegel and Kant are something completely different from the teachings of Christianity and, although their thought is truly complicated, it is something that the Japanese civilization needs (Havens 1970: 50).

However, what Nishi meant by *tetsugaku*, the science of clarity, as he had started to call philosophy since 1874, was not quite what the term means or meant in its initial context. For Nishi, philosophy was a rather practical discipline. Much of his work has been dedicated to the separation of the micro- and macrocosm, or the demonstration that there is no one single principle that guides the universe, but that psychic and material processes have their separate ways. In this binary opposition, philosophy has to perform the task of making the world available to the mind, that is, of regulating the thought processes so that an objective understanding of reality, untainted by ideological prerequisites or religious prejudices, might become possible. It is thus an applicable science rather than an ethical teaching, and takes for its point of departure the reality of the world, not the lofty principles proclaimed by ancient authorities. This, for Nishi, has been the key factor to the success of the West, and therefore worthy of emulation also in Japan.

That, however, was easier thought than done. First of all, the Japanese language was completely unsuitable for voicing such ideas, which is why, in addition to the word for philosophy, Nishi has coined a large number of neologisms to be used as equivalents for Western philosophical concepts, and changed the meaning of many words in previous usage, mostly Confucian or Buddhist technical terms, assigning to them a semantic field of Western origin. These concepts include many without which, it seems, a language could not do in the modern world, such as "subjective" and "objective," "rational," "reality," "phenomenon," "deduction" or "psychology." And yet, before Nishi, these words were missing in Japanese, and the concepts denoted by them obviously as well.

At this point it seems reasonable to ask whether the practice of philosophical thought as such is conceivable without these concepts. Because if it isn't, then that means that philosophy is essentially a Western pursuit, which was only transplanted to Japanese soil during the Meiji reforms and has nothing to do with the previous indigenous tradition of thought. On the other hand, if this isn't the case, then what is it precisely that Nishi introduced to Japan? If philosophical thought is a cultural universal that takes on specific local forms, then Japanese philosophy necessarily has a longer history behind it from which it should by no means be disassociated. And in both cases, there is also the additional question, posed in the title of this paper, but with a different meaning. If philosophy is a Western pursuit, can there be anything that makes Japanese philosophy Japanese in more than just the geographical sense? If philosophy is a cultural universal, what are the categories of Japanese culture that Japanese philosophical thinking reflects?

Let us now try to map the possible answers to these questions, and the arguments that usually go with them. There will also be a few conceptual choices that we have to make in the process. For example, it is not impossible to think of philosophy as an academic discipline, which follows the traditional Western division into subfields and branches, practiced by people with a more or less similar education, who are concerned with a predefined set of questions. If such were our understanding, it would be easy to show that philosophy is a Western cultural

phenomenon. The problem with this approach is that quite a number of prominent thinkers of that same Western tradition, such as Socrates, Spinoza or Nietzsche, do not fit the minimal conditions of what a philosopher in such a system has to be. Another and a much more serious objection derives from the contradiction between the two implicit premises of such a view. On the one hand, philosophy, thus understood, claims to formulate universal truths that are valid always and everywhere and completely independent of the form that expresses them. On the other hand, however, such philosophy not only has to follow the disciplinary and epistemic traditions established in and by the West, but also speaks exclusively through a conceptual apparatus that has been constructed on the basis of Western languages and closely follows their internal structure—that very apparatus that Nishi's neologisms were meant to construe for Japanese usage. Even if it is claimed that the philosophically significant content of a sentence—a proposition—is fully translatable into another language (Grayling 1997: 14ff.), this can only apply to the end result of a thought process, and not the conditions of its development. And even so it is not possible to translate anything not strictly reducible to formulae without residue and comment, not if we use concepts that have any history or cultural connections. Philosophy thus claims to be both universal and Western at the same time.

This assertion, even though rarely expressed in quite so explicit terms, is completely racist, and yet shared by a multitude of leading thinkers and philosophical authorities all over the Western world. In no other sphere of human achievement, be it science, technology or art, is such arrogance to be met any longer, even if the West did try to downplay other cultures during the peak of the colonialist era. African music, Indian mathematics, Chinese medicine and inventions, Japanese poetry, non-Western arts from traditional theatre or visual arts to film and modern popular culture have long since been acknowledged equal to European and North American cultural production and have strongly influenced the development of the particular fields worldwide. Only in the field of philosophy it is the Westerners who have it, but everybody else has just "wisdom" or, at best, "thought." This kind of academic white suprematism has already triggered a negativistic response: some younger Chinese scholars, for example, do not feel the need to associate their own thought tradition with any larger whole (such as "philosophy"), given the cold welcome and harsh conditions imposed on them (OuYang 2012). This leads to an opposition that is useful for no one, except those who want to be professors of philosophy without understanding much beyond their narrow specialisation.

Philosophy as a Cultural Universal

Another possible approach would be to treat philosophy as a cultural universal, while not necessarily the producer of universally valid, form-independent truths—because any philosophical self-expression is inevitably bound to a linguistic form of some kind. The "philosophicality," for the lack of a better term, would in that case not be tied to the formal

aspects of the argument, but to the nature of the problems and the specific attitude of approaching reality. Any inquiry into the nature of existence, any venture toward the structures of thought that are hidden beyond the surface of language, any effort to ground morality in principles rather than custom or authority, any such thought movement that follows explicit and rational rules of argumentation would then count as philosophical, no matter what kind of vocabulary it uses, no matter what rules of reasoning it adheres to. It should go without saying that a discussion of specifically cultural forms of philosophy should also be balanced by a link to an intercultural, intertraditional perspective that seeks to bring different approaches together on a common conceptual ground, and not one designed by one particular tradition only. Philosophical thought is a cultural practice, it reacts to the changes in the environment in which it is produced and developed (having contributed to many of these changes itself) and therefore such fusions are completely natural. Moreover, philosophical thought, unlike what is believed of natural science, is not evolving on a constant trail toward a greater understanding and a more accurate formulation of universal truths that might finally achieve completion, no matter what Hegel and Hegelians might have asserted. At the same time, philosphy, just as art, is cumulative: it does not throw away the former stages of its development as false and outdated. Aristotle and Descartes are still very much a part of the philosophical conversation even though their understanding of physics and biology is of merely historical interest.

According to this definition, quite a lot of Japanese traditional thought counts as philosophy. Thinkers usually considered "religious," such as Dōgen, Shinran or Bankei, or political moralists, such as Ogyū Sorai or Muro Kyūsō, should be read also for the philosophical component of their work, not less so than St. Thomas Aquinas or Leibniz, for example, in whose systems a transcendental absolute, whom they worshipped according to the rules of their religion, occupied an even more central place than in the worldviews of their Japanese colleagues. It can be said that most Japanese philosophers did not expound their views in ordered and systematic ways like Spinoza or Kant, but there are also so many Westerners who did not, from Plato to Nietzsche and Kierkegaard up to recent thinkers such as Deleuze. Besides, let it be noted that systematicity, in itself, is not a strict prerequisite of philosophical thinking, and there have been many thinkers in many traditions who have quite explicitly claimed that a craving for systematic wholeness in fact closes thought to the ends it wants to achieve.

What Nishi Amane introduced to Japan is thus not philosophy as such, but a specific Western tradition of thinking philosophically, a specific way to model the world and to pose problems, which was novel to the Japanese and helped them to create the necessary conditions for cultural imports that they needed and desired. But this was by no means mixing oil with water. At the same time when Nishi and others revolutionised the conceptual domain, artists such as Takahashi Yūichi and Asai Chū worked to establish the *yōga* school of Japanese art, exploiting the canons and techniques of Western painting and, not less noteworthily, also adopting the Western model of the artist's gaze in their choice of subject matter and framing the reality to be depicted. Nonetheless we do not say that Takahashi and Asai introduced proper

"art" to Japan (unlike philosophy, this art did not really fit in the Japanese cultural environment and is by now practically extinct), just as we do not claim that the form of prose called *shōsetsu* meant the introduction of "literary prose."

It is from this perspective, I suggest, that we should look for the "Japaneseness" of Japanese philosophy, no matter what the tradition and vocabulary it uses. Traditions, at first sight incompatible, had been fused before, for example, when Greek thought was blended with Christian religion, or utopian socialism with rational economic theory and a teleological narrative of history. Although it has often been pointed out about Japan, it is actually true of any culture: there is no genuine, pure and untainted continuity in any living tradition. All cultures are based on fusions of heterogeneous elements, and this is how it should be, if a cultural tradition is to retain its vitality. The "Japanese" in the compound "Japanese philosophy" thus does not refer to some hypothetical pure beginning or unchanged cultural quality that is continuous throughout history, but to a specific way of blending cultural flows, in which the later stages contain the memory of the previous ones without necessarily abiding by them.

Philosophical Thought and Its Linguistic Form

One rather central question about philosophy as cultural practice is its relation to natural language, since it is always expressed in a verbal form. The traditional idea that philosophical ideas are language-independent realities of thought is problematic in that it presupposes, almost as medieval realists did, that universal thought models are somehow real and not conditioned by the specific circumstances in which physical, biological and social reality meets a particular tool for describing them. A recently fashionable theory, developing Chomskian linguistics, has indeed claimed that all languages are basically just surface structures of an underlying repository of linguistic forms called Mentalese, hard-wired to the human brain (Pinker 1995). On a closer inquiry, this view falls apart, however, as Stephen Levinson, among others, has empirically demonstrated (Levinson and Wilkins 2006; Levinson 1996, 1998, 2003). The central question for philosophy, in this context, is whether logic, broadly understood as the general laws that govern thought processes and argumentation, is itself universal or language-dependent. For example, Carl Becker has claimed that particular linguistic systems, such as Japanese, engender also their own systems of logic (Becker 1991). On the other hand, there are also researchers such as Gregor Paul, who do not believe in the exclusivity of Western philosophy, but nonetheless maintain that there exists an universal logic, which can be and has been used in philosophical reasoning everywhere, East Asia included (Paul 1993: 14–17).

If Becker is right, does that mean that a sentence may be logical in one language, but cease to be so when translated into another? If Paul is right, does that mean that philosophy, even if culturally specific, is nonetheless language-independent? These questions are further complicated by the fact that Western logic has also come a long way since Aristotle. The word

now refers not only to formal, symbolic or modal logic, but also to the system of thought called logic in Hegel's work. What is the logic that Becker claims to be linguistically conditioned and Paul believes to be universal?

Without pretending to be able to answer this question here in full and to everyone's satisfaction, I would like to point out that "logic," no matter how it is understood, does not describe anything that is out there in the world, but only points to processes taking place in our minds as we speak about reality. For example, negation, a simple operation without which no logic can do, is something we can only think: there is no equivalent of logical negation in reality. Not referring to anything actually there is its very point. Denial, lack, absence and nothingness are always and necessarily linguistic, and it is not unimportant that different languages have a large variety of ways for expressing them. In fact, languages that only have one way of negating are exceptional. It is fairly typical, for instance, to negate processes and things with a different word—to use different "nots" for expressing "I am not a student" and "I am not sitting." In Finno-Ugric languages, negation is originally a verb, conjugated according to tempora and person. And so on. Even some Indo-European languages have a wider array of negations, thus in Greek the negation of indicative and imperative moods needs different words. Considering this multiplicity of negations helps us to understand, for example, why in the logic of Gongsun Long it is necessary to discuss if a white horse is indeed a horse (Hansen 2007). But regardless of whether we think that the rationalisation of some Indo-European languages to the point where there is one single word to perform all procedures of negation is taking us closer to an underlying thought universal, or that this process simply disregards a lot of important nuances, what we have to conclude is that logic is not a reflection of how things are independently of the human mind. It is therefore reasonable to assume that the variety of tools with which different cultures make sense of their living environments also entails a variety in the principles that they adhere to in organising their thoughts. By giving up the claim to universality that logics patterned on the structures of Indo-European languages normally put forward we do not, however, relativise either reality or the human mind. We simply acknowledge that no culture is privy to universal truths for which all are striving in their own way—no language is perfect and precise, no system of thought is final, the reality out there is what it is and we will continue to try to make sense of it, without ever achieving a complete and irrevokable understanding, even though each of us individually might arrive at an interim satisfactory result. This should be the attitude that distinguishes philosophy from religious belief. The same basic questioning approach should thus also be turned back to the discipline itself, as well as the methods that it makes use of in practice.

The relations between Japanese (or other East Asian) culture, language and thought illustrate this very clearly. Most modern Western thought normally shares three prerequisites that are conspicuously absent in all East Asian thinking: the Aristotelian way to view things paradigmatically as physical objects that can be exhaustively described by their properties, the Cartesian view of the core of the thinking self as a position outside the world of which it thinks,

and the Newtonian idea of space as an empty abstraction in which things are situated. Even though these ideas did not appear simultaneously and led, for some time, a separate existence also after their emergence, in a certain form they have now been become so widely accepted that it seems contrary to common sense to think of the world without them. (This, of course, does not entail the endorsement of Aristotelian system in full, or the dualism of Descartes in speaking about matter and mind, or the limits of Newtonian physics.) However, such a worldview, based on what I'd like to call the "ontological fallacy"—namely, the tendency to allocate to tangible objects a higher degree of existence than to phenomena in flux—does not agree very well with the structure of the Japanese language. For example, the entirely sensible Japanese way of expressing properties, based not on conceptualising a rigid attribution of a property with an object but on specifying the moment when the property occurs, or the ambivalence of most nouns that can also perform as verbs, as well as the verbal forms that can behave as nouns, not to speak of the absence of personal pronouns that would be neutral in relation to the social statuses of the speaker and her interlocutor, all belong to a language not aiming at the neutral description of an object-based externally observed conceptual space.

However, the alternative that makes sense in Japanese is philosophically just as methodical and has similar explanatory power. I have elsewhere analysed at length the Japanese notions of *mono* and *koto*, both meaning "thing," and their philosophical treatment by such truly different thinkers as Watsuji Tetsurō, a cultural particularist, Ide Takashi, a Western-style Aristotelian, Hiromatsu Wataru, a radical Marxist, and Kimura Bin, whose aim is to bridge psychiatry and the phenomenological tradition (Raud 2002). A lot has also been written about selfhood, mostly in Japanese socio-cultural practice (Bachnik and Quinn 1994; Doi 1973, 1986; Hamaguchi 1999; Kondo 1990; Rosenberger 1992) which is directly linked to the "no-self" of the Buddhist philosophical tradition (Kopf 2001). And finally, there is the conceptualisation of space, which has engendered a particular and amazingly productive aesthetic that has influenced many spheres of spatial practice from architecture, horticulture and interior design to urban planning (Berque 1976, 1982, 1986; Kurokawa 1994)—and, not surprisingly, also evolved to one of the central topics of Japanese philosophy, from Nishida's "logic of place" (1979) to the work of Nakamura Yūjirō (1983) and beyond.

An Example: The Phenomenon of Change

Let us now look at an example of the differences between these registers of thought and compare the ways how the phenomenon of change is understood by Aristotle and Dōgen. In Aristotle, we find the classic analysis of change in Physics, I 7. Quite obviously, change is what occurs in time (as time, for Aristotle, is itself defined by change). He starts with dividing the things that can change into simple and complex. Take, for instance, a thin man who puts on weight and becomes fat. We have the simple phenomena of "thinness," "man" and "fatness"

here, and during the process of change one of these simple phenomena ("thinness") is lost and replaced by another ("fatness"), while the simple phenomenon of "man" persists all the way through. But this is actually because in the beginning we had a complex phenomenon, "a thin man" combining "thinness" and "man." One part of this complex phenomenon survives the change, the other does not, and therefore the initial complex phenomenon is also replaced by the result of the change. From this, Aristotle concludes, "from the various cases of becoming described here we can conclude that there must always be an underlying something, namely the thing that becomes, and though this thing is one in number, it is not one whole structurally" (190a13). This "underlying something" is what, in principle, cannot change itself. David Bostock calls our attention to the ambiguity of "underlying" in Aristotle's usage: in logic, the underlying is simply the subject of which something is predicated, but in Physics, it is more the substance, the material of which the phenomenon is made (such as bronze underlying a statue) (Bostock 2006: 31). This leaves us no doubt about what the changing thing is: it is the material, physical, self-identical tangible object.

For all Buddhist thought, change is one of the most paramount categories altogether. Impermanence, the constant movement of the whole universe, the fundamental ephemerality of even the most stable and solid things is stressed constantly, change is not something that happens to normally stable and unchanging things, but, on the contrary, it is the primary condition of any existence. But when we look at things more closely, we find, as Dōgen has put it in an often-quoted passage, that:

> Firewood becomes ashes and it cannot become firewood again. Although this is so, we should not see ashes as "after" and firewood as "before." You should know that firewood abides in the dharma-configuration of firewood, for which there is a "before" and "after." But although there is a difference between "before" and "after," it is within the limits of this dharma-configuration. Ashes abide in the dharma-configuration of ashes, and there is a "before," and there is an "after." Just like this firewood, which will not become firewood again after it has become ashes, a human being will not return to life again after death. ... This is like winter and spring. One does not say that "winter" has become "spring," one does not say that "spring" has become "summer." *Genjōkōan* (Dōgen 1970: 36)

The notion translated here as "dharma-configuration" is a difficult one. Usually it is seen (with slight variations) to refer to particular "points" on the axis of "time" (seen here as the time-span of a thing's existence) that simultaneously separate themselves from and contain the present and future (of the thing in question) within them and is, accordingly, translated as "dharma-stage" or "dharma-position." We could compare this to a dimensionless viewpoint in a one-dimensional unverse: if a point on a line could see, it would simultaneously gaze at the infinity of both sides of the line on which it is situated. A different view is held by Hee-jin Kim, who claims that this notion involves non-dualistic perception of reality, "in and through

the mediation of emptiness," not that it would be the natural condition of each separate bit of reality at each singular moment (Kim 2004: 155). Tanahashi Kazuaki, whose interpretation is closest to mine, defines it as the "unique, nonrepeatable stage of a thing's existence at any given moment" (Dōgen 1985: 318), translating it as the "phenomenal expression" of things.

Although all these authors stress that Dōgen teaches the unessentiality of all things, they nevertheless imply a starting point which is much more essentialist than the one Dōgen actually seems to hold. Even Linda Goodhew and David Loy, who interpret this passage as an assertion that "objects themselves are unreal, but their relativity also implies the unreality of objective time … If there is only time then there is no time, because there can be no container (time) without a contained (objects)" (Goodhew and Loy 2002: 105), understand "things" as self-identical "objects" that are presumably out there in the world, whether real or unreal. However, if we look at "firewood" and "ashes" as designations of solely linguistic entities, names of things the existence of which we posit with our language, but which are without their own self-nature (similarly to what is designated by the words "spring" and "autumn," in the case of which it is easier to see that there are no objective thing-referents to which they could refer), we can understand "abiding in a dharma-configuration" not as the relation between a thing and its (dharma-)position on whatever axis, but as the relation in which the constituent particles of reality are to each other: in one specific mode of organization they are perceived as "firewood," in another as "ashes," the notion of "firewood" abides in a particular configuration of dharmas just as the notion of "offside" abides in a particular configuration of players on a football field. On a photograph that depicts an offside situation, the images of the players stand absolutely still (as they also would in a dimensionless moment), but each of them has a certain speed and direction (past, present and future) that may, in a next moment, place them in some other configuration that can be described by some other technical term. Following the premises of Buddhist ontology, all these configurations are necessarily unique, unrepeatable and momentary, but this does not impede us from referring to more than one of them by the same linguistic and generic term.

Conceptualising the Difference

We can thus see that these conceptual frameworks used for the description of what both thinkers physically witnessed in a more or less similar way are entirely different, yet both capable of delivering a workable and, in its own context, convincing philosophical interpretation of the phenomenon at hand. This is what is constantly stressed by Thomas P. Kasulis in his book *Intimacy or Integrity* (Kasulis 2002), possibly the most detailed and best-argued analysis of the differences of cultural prerequisities for philosophical thinking. Kasulis, deservedly well known for his expertise in both Japanese philosophy and religion (Kasulis 1989, 2004) does not differentiate so much between Japan and the West as between cultural choices that

make thinkers opt for a certain frame of mind rather than the other. Thus both "integrity" and "intimacy," as he has called the two poles of thought, can be and in fact have been met in both regions, even though either of them is inclined to prefer one over the other. On the one end, we have tendency to prefer objectivity and individuality, on the other, the leaning toward holism and solidarity. Integrity prefers quantifiable and measurable knowledge and downplays undescribable expertise—however, for example, if we look at the judgments of figure-skating, we notice that judges tend to give fairly similar points to contestants, even if they cannot always explain why. Neither, Kasulis stresses, is also superior to the other, more logical or deeper, and both can function equally well as the basis of sophisticated systems of thought, although even in the ruling position they need a certain dose of the other in order to perform properly. A similar point has been made by Angus Graham (1986) who stresses the ability of Chinese "correlative" thinking models to function on par with strict Greek logic in order to achieve a philosophical view of the world.

Anthropologists have also described the various norms of social practice that are congruent with the linguistic peculiarities and cultural preferences in thought models. Joy Hendry, for example, presents a holistic description of different layers of Japanese culture through the metaphor of "wrapping" (Hendry 1993)—always escaping direct view and situating every act in a system of multi-tiered levels, minutely tuned degrees of formality without which no personal encounter or linguistic exchange is actually possible. And this also raises a question that will have to remain unanswered in the confines of this paper: is it the habitual ways of doing things, distilled from the centuries of tradition, that have influenced the mindframe of the people engaged in them to think of the world as they do, or is it, on the contrary, the registers of thought, sustained by the structures of languages, that have engendered the social and cultural practices that agree with them so well? In any case, both of them not only maintain the functionality of the other, but also make it seem the natural, true way for things to be.

Instead of concluding I would like to return for a moment to the man from whose travels we started, Nishi Amane, a pro-Western Japanese thinker if there ever was any. Among the many neologisms he coined for expressing the concepts hitherto absent, let me recall, we also find the words, used until today, for "subjective" and "objective." Literally translated back from the Japanese these mean "the gaze of the host" and "the gaze of the guest." Thus even the effort to transplant into Japanese one of those distinctions essential for conveying Western-type thought models, he still could not escape the Japanese underlying need for an interpersonal situation, a spatial arrangement and a clearly defined viewpoint that makes seeing the world possible. Thus, even for the import of Western concepts his thinking basis remained quintessentially Japanese. And that, we might guess, was the key to his success.

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Part 1
From Religion to Popular Culture: New Readings of Texts and Spaces

テキストと空間の新しい読みをめぐって ——宗教からポピュラー・カルチャーまで

The Rediscovery of "Sacred Space" in Contemporary Japan: Intrinsic Quality or Discursive Strategy?

Aike P. Rots

"The sacred" has long constituted one of the core concepts of the academic discipline commonly known as "religious studies," "study of religion(s)" or "comparative religion."[1] A hybrid patchwork of theology, philology, history, cultural anthropology and sociology, this discipline is defined by its subject matter—the abstract category "religion," traditionally imagined as a universal and transhistorical phenomenon—rather than any particular methodological approach (see Capps 1995). Accordingly, it has been argued that scholars of religion have actively contributed to the reification of the categories they have used (Smith 1982; McCutcheon 1997). One of these is the "the sacred," which is central to most classical theories produced within the context of this discipline: well-known scholars such as Rudolf Otto, Émile Durkheim and Mircea Eliade have devoted much of their work to discussions of "sacredness," including the "sacred-profane" dichotomy and the subcategories "sacred space" and "sacred time." Influential though they have been, some of these theories have been criticized for being essentialist, ethnocentric and/or ahistorical. Consequently, the notion of "the sacred" has a problematic status as an analytical category: after all, it is notoriously difficult (if not impossible) to conceptualize, quantify, or scientifically measure "sacredness."

In recent years, however, the category has seen a bit of a revival. As the "religion-secular" dichotomy is increasingly problematized (e.g., Casanova 1994; Fitzgerald 2007), the notion of "sacredness"—no longer conceptualized as an intrinsic quality of certain places, objects and persons, but rather as a cognitively or socially produced category—has been reintroduced as a viable alternative by some scholars (e.g., Anttonen 2000; Lynch 2012). In addition, as the social sciences and humanities are experiencing a "spatial turn" (Warf and Arias 2009), spatial approaches to religion are resurfacing, leading to a new interest in the concept of "sacred space" on the part of scholars as well as religious actors (e.g., Bergmann et al. 2009; Knott 2005a, 2005b; Tweed 2006).

In this paper, I will examine the notion of "sacred space," and look at ways in which it is reemployed in contemporary Japanese academic discourse as well as in popular practices. I

[1] The lack of a single term for the discipline reflects its inherent ambivalence; the diversity of labels used to address the discipline points to the diversity of normative positions regarding the nature of "religion," and how it ought to be studied. In Japanese, the discipline is usually referred to as *shūkyōgaku* 宗教学.

believe that an examination of Japanese ideas and practices pertaining to "sacred space" can shed some new light on the concept, and offer an interesting comparative perspective. It may be argued that "the sacred"—both as an abstract academic construct and as a discursively and spatially produced social reality—is an important category in contemporary Japan, not only because it is related to inherently ideological notions of the nation and its territory, but also because so-called "sacred places" feature prominently in the cultural imagination. An exploration of notions of "sacred space" in Japan is interesting, therefore, for at least two reasons. First, Japanese scholars have found creative, at times provocative ways to adopt and adapt theories developed by European scholars, and reappropriate them in accordance with their own epistemologies. An examination of their work can show us the possible ideological implications an apparently "spiritual," apolitical concept such as "sacred space" can have. Second, reports of religious decline notwithstanding, contemporary Japanese society is characterized by various processes of sacralization, ranging from attempts by conservative lobby groups and politicians to reintroduce sacred symbols and rituals into the public sphere to popular (re)constructions of "sacred places" that offer spiritual power to visitors. An examination of these processes can help us develop our understanding of ways in which "sacredness" is produced.

The paper consists of three parts. I will start by discussing classical and contemporary theoretical approaches to "the sacred." I will give a brief overview of the intellectual heritage by which contemporary discussions are informed, and introduce some of the main points of critique. In particular, I will examine Eliade's theory of "sacred space," which not only has exercised profound influence on the development of "religious studies" in Western academia, but which also has been embraced and appropriated by a group of Japanese scholars. I will then move on to discuss some of the ways in which the categories "sacred place" and "sacred space" have been employed in Japanese academic discourse. I will argue that some of the work produced under the banner of *shūkyōgaku* in Japan consists of nihonjinron 日本人論-style reifications of an alleged transhistorical "Japanese spirituality," often placed in binary opposition to supposedly "Western" religious worldviews. Classical Orientalist East-West dichotomies are reproduced in the work of some Japanese scholars of religion, who assert that Eastern/Japanese spirituality is characterized by the intuitive appreciation of the intrinsic sacred qualities of certain places in nature. In this paper, I will discuss the works of three representatives of this current of thought: Umehara Takeshi, Yamaori Tetsuo and Kamata Tōji. Discussing some of their work, I hope to show that notions of "spiritual matters" are not politically neutral; on the contrary, they are embedded within a larger discourse on national identity.

Finally, in the third part of this paper, I will examine some of the ways in which notions of "sacred space" influence, and draw upon, popular devotional practices. In particular, I will look at the recent trend to redefine certain worship places as "powerspots," said to contain a strong spiritual energy, which have attracted large numbers of visitors in recent years. I will describe this trend, ask who are the main actors involved, and address the question as to how the recent popularity of so-called "powerspots" relates to other processes of sacralization taking place in

Japanese society today. Thus, I hope to show that the category "sacred space" continues to be relevant for understanding contemporary Japanese discursive and institutional practices.

"The Sacred": Foundational Theories

In a recent discussion of the role of "the sacred" in the contemporary world, Gordon Lynch argued that the term "is still widely used today without clear theoretical underpinnings. Indeed, in much academic and popular usage, the 'sacred' is often treated as a simple synonym for religion" (Lynch 2012: 9). While it is beyond the scope of this article to discuss different uses of the term "religion,"[2] it is important to note that not all aspects of religion are necessarily sacred (e.g., institutional politics and regulations), nor are all sacred symbols or places necessarily religious (e.g., national flags and monuments). Accordingly, even though the two are often confused, the concepts "sacred" and "religious" do not completely overlap.

But what is it, then, that constitutes sacredness? According to Lynch, theories of the sacred can be divided into two types, which he calls "ontological" and "cultural sociological" (Lynch 2012: 10). The former are exemplified by the work of Rudolf Otto, in particular his well-known text *Das Heilige* (The Idea of the Holy) from 1917, in which he argues that sacredness (or holiness) is "an a priori category, … a feeling of awe and mystery, an experience of something 'wholly other'" (Morris 1987: 142; cf. Otto 1999 [1917]). This feeling is fundamentally non-rational and pre-discursive, and can only be known experientially (and not by everybody); it is brought about by an external object, the numinous or divine, to which the individual subject reacts. In other words, according to this view, sacredness is an intrinsic, sui generis quality, exclusively accesible to those who are capable of experiencing it (and willing to do so).

The most famous sociological interpretation of "the sacred" is probably the classical theory of Émile Durkheim, as outlined in his 1912 work *Les formes élémentaires de la vie religieuse* (The Elementary Forms of [the] Religious Life) (2001). Like Otto, Durkheim considered the "sacred" to be an essential aspect of religion, which he defined as "a unified set of beliefs and practices relative to sacred things, that is to say, things set apart and forbidden—beliefs and practices which unite one single moral community" (quoted in Morris 1987: 115). Unlike Otto, however, he did not advocate the theological view that places or objects become sacred through some sort of intrinsic quality; rather, he argued, sacredness is socially produced, and serves to symbolize and legitimize social structures. In principle, then, anything can come to be regarded as sacred, for sacredness is something that is attributed rather than intrinsically present (Morris 1987: 117).

[2] In recent years, several scholars have criticized essentialist, non-reflexive notions of "religion" as a universally present, transhistorical entity (e.g., McCutcheon 1997; Fitzgerald 2007). Relevant though this critique is, the concept "religion" should not be abandoned from scholarly analysis altogether; while arguably problematic as a universal category, religion does figure prominently in contemporary law, (identity) politics and mass media. As such, it undeniably constitutes a significant presence in today's world, if only as an "emic" category employed by a variety of institutions and individuals for a variety of purposes (cf. Beyer 2006). For a more in-depth discussion of the concept, and its applicability to modern Japan, see Rots 2013, pp. 41–65.

Durkheim developed the notions of "sacred" and "profane" as foundational, universally valid categories. Placed in binary opposition, "sacred" and "profane" are conceptualized as mutually exclusive; their dichotomy constititutes one of the core themes in Durkheim's sociology. Sacredness, he stated, does not necessarily equal great power or moral perfection; rather, the sacred is constituted as such through its fundamental otherness vis-à-vis the profane (i.e., the ordinary) (Durkheim 2001 [1912]: 37–41). The realization that sacredness does not always correspond to the good and powerful, but can also be morally ambivalent, forbidden or, indeed, violent, has been of great significance for later theoretical developments (e.g., Douglas 2002 [1966]; Girard 2005 [1972]).

Eliade on "Sacred Space"

Durkheim's understanding of the sacred-profane dichotomy as the foundational structure of religion (and, by extension, society) has exercised profound influence on later theories of religion. In particular, they were appropriated by Mircea Eliade, who combined Durkheimian dualism with Otto's notion of "the sacred" as an intrinsic quality that is to be experienced intuitionally rather than analyzed intellectually. According to Eliade, the task of the scholar of religion was "deciphering the deep meaning of religious phenomena" by discovering their alleged "essence" (Morris 1987: 177). His theories are controversial, however, and much recent critical scholarship in the field has been concerned with overcoming his ideological and methodological heritage—because of his reification of the historically constructed category "religion" as a universal, transhistorical category (see McCutcheon 1997); because of the lack of sound empirical foundations and historical research supporting his theories; and because of the methodological vagueness and "analytical naivete" of his "mystical" approach (Chidester and Linenthal 1995: 17). Most importantly, perhaps, by saying that religion and the sacred can only be described and understood by using religions' own methods and vocabulary and not by means of analytical scrutiny, Eliade actively contributed to the discursive naturalization (and, hence, depoliticization) of religion—for "[t]o accept religion in its own terms is really to deny that it has any ideological function" (Morris 1987: 177). Consequently, until today, religion tends to be perceived as something essentially (if ideally) opposed to the realm of politics; likewise, few discussions of so-called "sacred places" take into consideration issues related to (competing) territorial claims, land value, property rights and so on.

As said, Durkheim's sacred-profane dichotomy was adopted by Eliade, who introduced two subcategories of the sacred: "sacred time" and "sacred space." "Sacred time" refers to the mythical primordial age; the cosmic time of creation, for which human beings are said to long. "Sacred space" is the other core concept introduced by Eliade. According to him, sacred places can be experienced by human beings, but are never constructed by them: "the place is never chosen by man; it is merely discovered by him; in other words, the sacred place in some way

or another reveals itself to him" (quoted in Cave 2001: 237). Sacred places, in this model, have their own agency; human construction and signifying practices, on the ther hand, are hardly acknowledged. Accordingly, Eliade's theory of sacred space is fundamentally ahistorical, as the following citation illustrates:

> In Eliade's conception, there are several components that make a place a "sacred" place: 1) the place has a quality or experience felt and interpreted to be distinctive and irreducible; 2) the experience is inherent to the place; 3) the experience, therefore, is not subject to human choice; 4) the place and what is done there (the rituals, for instance), are modeled on mythic patterns (on what the gods or culture heroes did in the beginning); and 5) the place is capable of transforming one. [… In sum,] sacred space is that space (or place) that commands excessive, discriminating attention and that orients and transforms a person or group such that their life, or a component of it, is perceived to be meaningful. (Cave 2001: 238)

Thus, in Eliade's conceptualization of sacred places, there is no place for historical contingencies or sociopolitical configurations. Nor, incidentally, is there much attention to the physical and environmental aspects of the location, as the place is reduced to the "irreducible" spiritual experience it supposedly evokes. According to this model, it is the intrinsic sacred quality of a place that is capable of transforming human beings, instead of the contrary: human beings that are capable of transforming and sacralizing places (let alone de-sacralizing them; cf. Cave 2001: 238, n. 10).

Eliade's influence on the study of religion has been considerable. Partly thanks to his work, the category of "sacred space" and the derived notion of "sacred places" have been employed widely in religious studies. That does not mean, however, that there has been much scholarly reflection on the various social, historical, ideological and environmental factors implicit in the construction and deconstruction of "sacred places"—the question, in brief, how "sacredness" is constructed and negotiated. Put differently, the terms "sacred space" and "sacred places" have been used widely, but often non-reflexively. While it may be true that "the investigation of spatiality and religion has a long history" (Corrigan 2009: 157), it is equally true that most studies of sacred space produced within the field of religious studies focus on the history and symbolic significance of particular "religious sites," but do not take into consideration other aspects of spatiality such as landscape construction, spatial practices and tactics, or mental and representational spaces (Knott 2005a: 2; cf. Certeau 1984; Lefebvre 1991 [1974]).[3] Likewise, despite the sizeable discourse on "sacred places," until recently there has been remarkably little critical reflection on ways in which those places are constructed, contested and transformed, let alone on the territorial and identity politics implicit in sacralization processes. Fortunately,

[3] For a more in-depth discussion of the potential significance of the spatial theories of Lefebvre and De Certeau for the study of religion and sacred space, taking into consideration more recent theories on religion and space such as those offered by Kim Knott (2005a, 2005b) and Thomas Tweed (2006), see Rots 2013, pp. 66–86.

this seems to be changing; the new interest in topics such as spatial practices, landscape construction, physical embodiment and territory has given rise to a number of studies tentatively (re)exploring issues related to the complex relationships between sacralization, religion, territorial claims, space and place (e.g., Gill 1998; Knott 2005a, 2005b; Smith 2004; Tweed 2006). Drawing on the work of these scholars, I would like to argue for a critical approach that takes into account the fact that places and landscapes are socially and historically constructed, as well as environmentally conditioned. Accordingly, I suggest that "sacred places" are produced and reproduced by means of a variety of discursive and spatial practices, and, as such, are historically contingent and particular rather than transhistorical and intrinsic (cf. Rots 2013).

"Sacred Space" in Japanese Academic Discourse: Umehara Takeshi

Eliade's theories have exercised significant influence not only on American academic interpretations of religion (Gill 1998: 304), but also on Japanese academic discourse. In particular, as Inken Prohl makes clear, his ideas gave extra legitimacy to the study of "folk religion" and "shamanism" (Prohl 2000: 50, 57). Many of his works have been translated into Japanese, and his conceptual and theoretical contributions continue to define much Japanese scholarly discourse on religion (Prohl 2000: 60–61). In particular, his ideas have been adopted enthusiastically by a somewhat loosely defined group of scholars and authors referred to as "spiritual intellectuals" (*reiseiteki chishikijin* 霊性的知識人) by the prominent sociologist of religion Shimazono Susumu, a term later adopted by others (Shimazono 1996; cf. Prohl 2000). As the term makes clear, these authors—all of them men—share an interest in matters mystical and spiritual; in addition, all of them have written a great number of texts in which they discuss these matters in more or less scholarly fashion, using academic vocabulary (hence the term "intellectual").

There are some problems with the categorization, however. First, the vague term "intellectual" arguably conceals the fact that most of these authors are not merely well-educated intellectuals, but prominent academics indeed, who are (or were) affiliated with some of Japan's best-known universities and research institutes. Thus, their writings are normally classified as "scholarship" or "science"—as well as "philosophy," "religious studies" and "history"—which gives them an air of truth and academic legitimacy. Philosopher and cultural theorist Umehara Takeshi (born 1925), for instance, used to be the director of the International Research Center for Japanese Studies (Nichibunken).[4]

Second, the adjective "spiritual" is even more diffuse, as it is a floating signifier that

[4] Umehara's controversial, outspoken views on a number of topics (such as homosexuality and organ transplants) as well as his romantic, arguably nationalistic historical narratives led to some bad international press for Nichibunken in the 1980s and 90s. For an overview of the debate, see Prohl 2000, pp. 98–104. In recent years, Nichibunken seems to have departed from these earlier ideological positions, and become more internationally oriented not only in name but also in practice.

can carry a wide variety of meanings. The term gives the suggestion of a "soft," innocent topic, covering such things as experiences of the divine, communication with supernatural beings, meditation practices, esoteric ancestry theories and so on. In reality, though, most of the scholars euphemistically referred to as "spiritual" have been actively engaged in academic identity politics. Much of their work is devoted to the discursive differentiation of "the Japanese people" from "the West," sometimes by means of classical pan-Asian rhetoric, sometimes in more narrowly nationalistic terms. Discursive constructions of "spirituality," "original" and "essentially Japanese" (or "Eastern") religious attitudes, a unique national heritage and utopian notions of a future world order (to be established by the Japanese) are all profoundly ideological, and reflect prewar narratives of Japan's divine election and a fundamental East-West dichotomy (e.g., Rots 2010). Thus, the term "spiritual intellectuals" arguably conceals more than it reveals: while writing about so-called "spiritual" topics, these scholars have actively contributed to postwar ideological (re)constructions of Japanese national identity, and they have done so within the context of Japanese academia.

The aforementioned Umehara Takeshi is probably the best-known and most influential scholar of this group. Although he does not define himself as a *shūkyōgakusha* 宗教学者 (scholar of religion), he has written extensively about what he perceives to be the essence of Japanese religion (or, rather, Japanese religiosity). As Inken Prohl points out, there is an interesting paradox in the work of Umehara (and Yamaori Tetsuo, whose ideas I will discuss shortly): on the one hand, they assert the fundamental difference of "Japanese" religiosity vis-à-vis "the West"; on the other, their work is full of concepts (e.g., "shamanism" [*shāmanizumu* シャーマニズム], "animism" [*animizumu* アニミズム], and so on) and theories selectively taken from the European scholarly tradition (Prohl 2000: 60–61). In particular, Eliade's mystical-romantic reification of "sacred places," and his theories of the possibility of interaction between this world and the other world through intuitive, pre-reflexive experience, have influenced ways in which "Japanese religion" was (and is) conceptualized.

For instance, Umehara argues that the essence of Japanese religiosity and culture can be found in the way of living of the primordial ancestors of the Japanese nation: the people of the prehistorical Jōmon period (*Jōmon jidai* 縄文時代), who supposedly lived in harmonious coexistence with, and worshipped the ancestral spirits dwelling in, the forest (and, by extension, nature as a whole). He calls this essence "animism," which he describes as "the thought that says animals, plants and even inorganic things have a spirit that is connected to humans; and that, through this spirit, all living things can live. … [It] is the thought that sees the spirits dwelling in and bringing to life places in nature" (Umehara 1989: 13–14). This description clearly echoes the ideas of early European anthropologists of religion, in particular Tylor and Frazer (see Morris 1987: 98–106), as well as Eliade's theory of sacred places. However, whereas in early evolutionist models "animism" was often conceptualized as an early, "primitive" stage of religious development, Umehara reappropriates it in such a way that it becomes the purest, morally superior, and authentically Japanese way of relating to nature and the divine.

According to him, it is this "thought" (*shisō* 思想) that constititutes the core essence of Japanese religiosity; not only is "Shinto" perceived as essentially animistic nature worship (a notion that has gained much popularity in recent years, also among Shinto priests and scholars), Umehara also discovers many traces of animism in Japanese Buddhism (Umehara 1989: 19). Thus, in his account, the intuitive, "animistic" appreciation of sacred space is presented as the core characteristic of Japanese religion.

But Umehara's theories are not merely phenomenological; they also have profound political implications. According to him, in the modern age, the worldview that prescribes human beings to conquer and exploit nature—supposedly caused by the "monotheism" of the "Judeo-Christian" heritage (cf. White 1967)—has led to widespread environmental destruction, and an erosion of traditional values. Animism may be the only way to overcome the current crisis, he suggests; and as Japan has acquired a unique synthesis of "Eastern" culture and values and "Western" technological and economical development, it is the mission of Japan to save humankind by spreading its benign animistic ideas:

> During the past 300 years, the West has built an abundant world based on the domination of nature by thinking man. For most of that period, non-Western man—"the other"—was also subjugated. But the West's abundance is now threatened by the limits of nature to absorb the consequences of its plunder and by the resurgence, particularly in Asia, of prosperous and competitive non-Westerners. … Today, Japan's goal should be to create another amalgamation—a new civilization—that blends the civilization introduced from Europe with the Japanese native culture of the forest. (Umehara 2009: 50, 53)

Thus, Umehara's understanding of sacred space is by no means apolitical. He employs the harmony-with-nature trope—a central part of the modern Japanese nation-building project (Asquith and Kalland 1997; Morris-Suzuki 1998: 35–59)—as well as Eliade's notion of the intuitive appreciation of the sacred to criticise modern Japanese society. By extension, he also criticises "the West," which Japan allegedly has copied too much. As such, his theories have a clear political agenda: he wants to reform society in accordance with the principles of the ancient "forest civilization," then spread this utopian model to other nations.

Other Japanese Theories: Yamaori Tetsuo and Kamata Tōji

There are significant similarities between the thought of Umehara and the ideas of scholar of religion Yamaori Tetsuo. Together, they published a book (Umehara and Yamaori 1995) in which they argued that "original Shinto" (*honrai no shintō* 本来の神道) was a nature religion *(shizen shūkyō* 自然宗教), the essence of which can be found among many "primitive" worldviews throughout the world (Prohl 2000: 26–27). Much of Yamaori's work is devoted to a critical

assessment of the category "religion" (*shūkyō* 宗教) as it has developed in modern Japan; he argues that the Protestantism-derived notion of religion as faith-based and exclusivistic does not correspond to "traditional" modes of religiosity in Japan, which are said to have been characterized by a more inclusive, combinatory approach, and an intuitive appreciation of natural places. According to Yamaori, the negative image of religion in contemporary Japan (deteriorated by, but preceding, the Aum Shinrikyō subway attacks of 1995 [Okuyama 2000: 100]), and the commonly used self-definition *mushūkyō* 無宗教 ("non-religious"), do not mean Japanese people are actually secular or atheistic; rather, it means they have forgotten "traditional Japanese" practices and worldviews. These, he suggests, they need to rediscover (Yamaori 1996: 1–20; Okuyama 2000: 100–102).

Yamaori's work is strongly nostalgic, drawing on an idealization of "traditional" ways of being religious, the loss of which he laments—as illustrated by the title of one of his best-known books, *Chinju no mori wa naite iru* ("The sacred forests are crying") (Yamaori 2001). In this book, Yamaori addresses the topic of *chinju no mori* 鎮守の森, or sacred shrine forests. In recent academic and religious discourse, this is a popular topic: ecologists and conservationists have identified shrine forests as valuable patches of green space in concrete-filled urban landscapes, or even as biodiversity hotspots, and actively contributed to their preservation (e.g., Miyawaki 2000); Shinto organizations, meanwhile, have redefined their shrine forests as remnants of "ancient Shinto," and as important environmental, spiritual and educational resources (e.g., Ueda 2004). Arguably, Yamaori's book has further contributed to *chinju no mori* becoming a legitimate topic of scholarly inquiry, even though his book does not engage with actual, physical shrine forests, but rather with the relationship between deities, myths, and the Japanese nation. In true Eliadean fashion, Yamaori argues that at Japanese sacred places (*seichi* 聖地) such as Ise, through the practice of the *shikinen sengū* 式年遷宮 (the ritual rebuilding of the shrine buildings, every twenty years) a connection is maintained between the present and the mythical past (*shinwa teki jikan* 神話的時間; i.e., Eliade's "sacred time") (Yamaori 2001: 41).

Accordingly, Yamaori argues for the reestablishment of pre-Meiji *shin-butsu shūgō* 神仏習合 (the combined worship of Buddhas or bodhisattvas and local deities, usually called kami 神), and criticises scholars and politicians who seek to reconstruct post-Meiji imperial Shinto ("State Shinto," *kokka Shintō* 国家神道) for frustrating the reestablishment of the "original" Shinto supposedly found in traditional nature worship. The revitalization of Japanese society, he suggests, cannot be found in explicitly political ideology and imperial symbolism, but rather in reestablishing a bond between people and local sacred places. One of the places he cites as an example of a sacred place going back to prehistorical times, where the natural element (the mountain) is seen as the body of the deity and takes the place of the main hall (*honden* 本殿) of the shrine, is Mount Miwa in Nara Prefecture, home to Ōmiwa Jinja (Yamaori 2001: 72–73). Significantly, this mountain is often referred to as one of the few remaining examples of primordial nature worship, and several scholars who combine a nostalgic view of "traditional" Shinto and Japanese nature worship with contemporary environmentalist interests mention this site as one of their prime examples.

Thus, Yamaori rejects explicitly political interpretations of Shinto, instead presenting the tradition as essentially mystical, intuitive and experiental. That does not mean, however, that his ideas are not political—like Umehara, he has adopted an idealistic view of a primordial golden age, the reestablishment of which becomes a necessary prerequisite for overcoming the present-day situation of cultural, moral and environmental decline. This narrative follows the so-called "triadic structure of nationalist rhetoric"—an idealized, mythical "old age" that becomes the blueprint for a utopian future, which is contrasted to the contemporary world, portrayed as morally and culturally corrupted—and, as Levinger and Lytle have demonstrated (2001), such a narrative can have significant mobilizing potential. At the very least, theories such as those of Yamaori contribute to an essentialist differentiation between, and reification of, the artificial categories "East" and "West"; as such, they are implicit in academic identity politics, as much as they engage with domestic political debates.

Interestingly, in several of his works, Yamaori writes about personal spiritual experiences to illustrate his arguments (Prohl 2000: 27). The same applies to Kamata Tōji, another prominent "spiritual intellectual," who creatively (some might say: confusingly) combines scholarly theory, empirical data, mythmaking and personal accounts of spiritual experiences. An idiosyncratic person, he is a "Shinto songwriter" and rock singer as well as a professor at the famous Kyoto University. Here, he has set up the *monogaku* モノ学 research centre: an interdisciplinary research centre that combines anthropological, (art) historical, psychological and religious studies-based research on a variety of topics, such as material objects, spirit beliefs and cultural traditions (note that the word *mono* can refer to things, people or spirits; as it is written in katakana, the term maintains this ambivalent quality). Like Yamaori, Kamata laments the "erosion" of "animism," "shamanism" and other so-called "folk" traditions, and the artificial separation of Shinto and Buddhism; likewise, he argues for a revitalization of a "spiritual" worldview, and the reconciliation of science and religion (Prohl 2000: 30–31).

Kamata has also written several books on the topic of sacred places (*seichi* or *seinaru basho* 聖なる場所), combining ethnographic, psychological and theological approaches (e.g., Kamata 2008). He is particularly interested in traditions such as shamanism and Shugendō 修験道 (mountain ascetism), as well as local festivals and nature worship. He defines sacred places as "places where people can enter the world of the spirit, at the deepest level of their soul" (Kamata 2008: 43). Thus, as in Eliade's work, these places are defined by their apparent capacity to evoke spiritual feelings, rather than by social or environmental factors. According to Kamata, "sacred places" in Japan, where human beings can experience a connection with a transcendental other world, include so-called "shaman mountains" such as those in Aomori Prefecture (Kamata 2008: 47–106); Mount Miwa, mentioned above (Kamata 2008: 108–139); and the shrines and pilgrimage trails of Kumano (Kamata 2008: 140–51). Significantly, much of Kamata's narrative is devoted to a description of the atmosphere of these places, and an interpretation of their sacred qualities—using Otto's classical phrase to refer to the experience of "the holy," "*mysterium tremendum et fascinans*" (Kamata 2008: 74)—but there is little

attention to processes of historical change. Nevertheless, Kamata's ideas clearly reflect popular notions of sacred places, spirituality, and Japanese traditional culture.

Sacralization in Contemporary Japan

It may be argued that, in contemporary Japanese society, several sacralization processes are taking place. This sacralization does not equal the return of "religion"—for the category "religion," as we have seen, is not very popular in Japan today. Instead, in recent decades, shrines, temples and ritual practices have been reframed on a large scale as "(traditional) culture" and "(cultural) heritage." We could refer to this development as the culturalization (or heritagization) of worship traditions. That is, places of worship, ritual practices (e.g., pilgrimage) and "sacred" buildings or objects are no longer primarily defined in terms of faith, ritual efficacy or available "religious merit"; nor are they necessarily framed as "religious." Instead, they are redefined—in tourist publications, media texts, policy documents and so on—as important remnants of "traditional culture" and "cultural heritage." As such, they also figure prominently in the national memory, and contribute to contemporary notions of nationhood.

This development has been referred to as "secularization" by some (e.g., Reader 2012), but this term is arguably problematic when analyzing the Japanese context, if only because in Japan "religion" is configured very differently from those European societies where the "religion-secular" dichotomy was developed (cf. Rots 2013: 41–65). In any case, this redefinition of worship places as "culture" or "heritage" is only part of the story. There has been a concurrent development in Japan, which we may refer to as the (re)sacralization of worship places: the discursive (re)construction (by mass media, institutional actors, popular-scientific authors and others) of certain places as "sacred" (i.e., transcendent and non-negotiable) and, indeed, as "divine" or "spiritual" (i.e., pertaining to, and/or inhabited by, deities and spirits). These places are not referred to as "religious," contaminated as the category has become, but as "sacred"—or, alternatively, as "spiritual." While the development concerns so-called religious institutions such as shrines and temples, it also applies to places not associated with "religion" in any way, but with popular culture: the term *seichi junrei* 聖地巡礼 ("pilgrimage to sacred places"), for instance, has now come to be used for fans' visits to sites associated with TV dramas, anime and so on (Suga 2010: 234). Contrary to what Reader has suggested (2012), then, the reconfiguration of certain sites as "cultural heritage" has not been incompatible with their status as sacred sites somehow associated with devotional practices and supernatural beings. The crux of the matter is that the abandonment of the category "religion" can be an important strategy for adaptation, leading to the reinvention and revitalization of the very institutions and practices previously classified as "religious."

In the past decades, then, a process has been going that we may refer to as the resacralization of the public sphere. As described by Mark Mullins (2012), certain "sacred"

symbols associated with Shinto, the nation and the imperial institution have regained new popularity, and the boundaries between "the state" (public) and "religion" (private) have been subject to continuous negotiation. Arguably, this development goes back to at least the 1970s or 80s, when it was referred to by scholars as the re-emergence of "civil religion" in Japanese society (e.g., Takayama 1993); thus, it is perhaps not as recent a development as sometimes suggested. In any case, attempts to challenge the constitutional separation of state and religion and to reassert the position of various Shinto-related symbols and practices in the public sphere continue to be made, and are often subject to heated debate. They typically concern issues related to the position of the emperor and war memory (as exemplified by the Yasukuni Shrine controversy)—but also, more in general, state patronage and sponsorship of shrines and other religious institutions (*shūkyō hōjin* 宗教法人) (Breen 2010; cf. Tanaka 2011: 14–16).

Politically and ideologically charged as they are, the Yasukuni debate and related issues have received ample scholarly attention. By and large, the (re)sacralization of Yasukuni Shrine and related institutions is a top-down process, involving high-ranking shrine officials, scholars and politicians in powerful institutions such as the Jinja Honchō headquarters, Kokugakuin University and the Liberal Democratic Party. Meanwhile, however, there are other examples of sacralization processes in Japan that are much more bottom-up, involving a variety of actors ranging from local authorities and travel agencies to shrine priests and journalists. I will conclude this article by examining one such development.

The "Powerspot Boom"

Paradoxically, while many small rural shrines suffer from depopulation, a lack of financial means and, in some cases at least, declining community participation (Fuyutsuki 2010), several well-known shrines report ever-growing visitor numbers and a renewed interest in shrine pilgrimage. Some mass media have even referred to the apparent new popularity of shrines as a "*jinja* [shrine] boom" 神社ブーム . For instance, the shrines of Kumano have experienced a significant growth in popularity in recent years, which seems related to the spiritual power attributed to its sacred sites as much as to its long history or natural beauty (e.g., Chiba 2008; Kamata 2008: 140–51; Kamata 2009). Likewise, the ritual rebuilding of two of the most famous and historically important shrines in the country, Izumo Taisha and Ise Jingū, has generated a lot of attention and interest.[5]

This renewed popularity of shrines as places not only of cultural-historical significance but also of sacred power is directly related to another trend, which has been going on for the last

[5] In May 2013, Izumo Taisha celebrated the ritual rebuilding (*daisengū* 大遷宮) of its main hall, for the first time in sixty years. For this occasion, during several weeks, a large number of *matsuri* 祭 , *kagura* 神楽 performances and other cultural events took place. In the same year, Ise Jingū celebrated its twenty-yearly *shikinen sengū*, which involved the ritual rebuilding of the main shrine buildings. Both Izumo Taisha's *daisengū* and Ise Jingū's *shikinen sengū* have received ample media attention, attracting visitors from all over the country (as well as, to a lesser extent, from abroad).

decade or so: the so-called "powerspot boom." Shrines, temples and other "sacred places" have been reframed as places with significant spiritual energy, called "powerspots" (*pawāsupotto* パワースポット). The term "powerspot" was reportedly already used by Japanese scholars of religion in the 1980s to refer to "sacred places (*seichi*) where sacred energy (*seiki* 精気) and spiritual power (*reiryoku* 霊力) from the cosmos (*uchū* 宇宙) are clumped together" (Suga 2010: 243). However, it was not used commonly until the 2000s, when so-called "women's magazines" (*joseishi* 女性誌) started advertising them as places with special spiritual power, where one's energy or *qi* (Jp. *ki* 気) could be recharged. Using typical gendered discourse, they made the association between "powerspots" and women that lingers on (Suga 2010: 234–41). After *Asahi shinbun* (one of the country's leading newspapers) picked up on the topic and declared a "powerspot boom" in 2005, the term spread more widely. Since then, it has been used by various popular guidebooks on "spiritual travel" and "pilgrimage to sacred places" (*seichi junrei*), as well as by travel agencies and PR organizations (Suga 2010: 241).

This is not completely new. There is probably a continuity between the pursuit of so-called "this-worldly benefits" (*genze riyaku* 現世利益) at certain designated shrines and temples (e.g., prayers for success in business at Inari shrines, or for success in entrance examinations at Tenjin shrines), well-documented by Reader and Tanabe (1998), and the contemporary popularity of "powerspots." That does not mean, however, that it is old wine in new bottles altogether. At the very least, the "powerspot boom" has led to an increase in media interest in shrines, as illustrated by the large numbers of popular books, magazines, guidebooks, websites and TV programs devoted to the topic. It has also been advocated by local authorities and travel agencies for the purpose of attracting "pilgrims" or "spiritual tourists"—at various places (e.g., Izumo), they have set up "powerspot tours," and made powerspot pamphlets and maps listing the sites in their locality considered to possess spiritual power. Perhaps unsurprisingly, these not only list the various sites and the particular qualities attributed to them, but also local culinary specialities (*meibutsu* 名物) and other commodities available for purchase.

Interestingly, many "powerspots" are associated with *en-musubi* 縁結び, a concept that refers to the connection (*musubi*) of ties (*en*); i.e., to finding a suitable (marriage) partner. Places especially associated with *en-musubi* (and, accordingly, regularly referred to as "powerspots") include Izumo Taisha and many of its nearby shrines; Tokyo Daijingū, a popular shrine in Tokyo devoted to Amaterasu; and the Meoto Iwa in Mie Prefecture (two rocks in the sea, connected by a *shimenawa* 注連縄 rope). In all likelihood, there is a correlation between the recent popularity of these places among, especially, young women, and the ever-increasing number of young and not-so-young people who are single.[6] In any case, although not all powerspots are shrines, the association between powerspots, *en-musubi* and shrines is very common in popular discourse—as illustrated by the fact

[6] In recent years, the percentage of people getting married has declined steadily, while the average age of marriage has gone up. Accordingly, the birth rate has decreased significantly, making Japan one of the countries with the most rapidly ageing population in the world. For statistics on marriage, see the Portal Site of Official Statistics of Japan, http://www.e-stat.go.jp/SG1/estat/ListE.do?lid=000001101888 (last accessed: June 20, 2013).

that many magazines and guidebooks explicitly refer to shrines as powerspots, calling them *pawā-supotto jinja* (e.g., Ichijō and Zō jimusho 2008).

Thus, although the term "powerspot" initially referred to particular selected and demarcated places that were considered to have a strong spiritual energy and to constitute some sort of Eliadean bridge between this world and the cosmos, in recent years it has increasingly come to be equated with shrines as a whole, at least by mass media (Suga 2010: 233).[7] That does not mean, however, that all shrines define themselves as such. Some of the shrine priests I have talked to in recent years expressed their annoyance with the "powerspot boom," calling it superficial and saying it has little to do with "real Shinto" ("*Hontō no Shintō to chigaimasu* 本当の神道と違います"). Others seemed more accommodating, suggesting that, while obviously not as important as matsuri and other shrine ceremonies, popular trends such as the "powerspot boom" might bring more people to shrines, and make them interested in learning more about Shinto. This, for instance, is the opinion of the current president of Jinja Honchō, who appreciates the positive PR generated by this trend: he has even suggested that it may help people relearn the intuitive awareness of sacred places that Japanese people supposedly possessed in the past, and, hence, may help them refind the faith of their ancestors (Tanaka 2011: 6–10). Many other shrine priests whom I have talked to were not quite sure yet whether they should condemn or condone the trend, and seemed undecided on the topic.

In any case, exceptions notwithstanding,[8] shrines are generally promoted as "powerspots" by non-clergy outsiders such as journalists, local authorities and popular authors, rather than by the priests themselves. For instance, one of the country's best-known powerspots, Kiyomasa's Well, is located in the garden of Meiji Jingū—but it gained popularity thanks to a TV program, and the priests at Meiji Jingū were reportedly flabbergasted by the great number of visitors all of a sudden visiting their shrine garden.[9] Nevertheless, the "powerspot boom" is transforming ways

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[7] Well-known shrines that have come to be identified as "powerspots" include Nikkō Tōshōgū, Meiji Jingū, Ise Jingū, Ōmiwa Jinja, Kumano Hongū Taisha, Kumano Nachi Taisha, Kibune Jinja, Shimogamo Jinja and Izumo Taisha (Suga 2010: 239). Although now more commonly associated with shrines than with temples, there are also temples that are framed as "powerspots" and considered good places for *en-musubi*; Kiyomizu-dera in Kyoto is a prominent example.

[8] There are also examples of shrine priests who have embraced the "powerspot boom," and actively redefined their shrines as such—or even established new "powerspots." For instance, in the autumn of 2011 I visited a "recently discovered" powerspot in the vicinity of Mount Fuji. I was told that the priest of a nearby shrine went for a walk, then came across two trees with unusual shapes on their bark. Upon closer inspection, they turned out to be shaped like a womb and ovaries. The place was established as a "powerspot" with these trees as their main focus, received some media attention, and reportedly became popular among women trying to get pregnant (and their mothers). Two small shrine buildings were constructed, as well as a stand where *o-mamori* and various spiritual souvenirs can be purchased. In addition, a stone circle was created, which visitors circumvent three times in order to "feel the spiritual energy" of the place (while holding their hands stretched out in front of them to feel the spiritual vibration).

[9] Kiyomasa's Well (*Kiyomasa no ido* 清正井) is a well in the middle of a small pond, in the garden of Meiji Jingū. It is said to have been dug by Katō Kiyomasa (1561–1611), a general in the army of Toyotomi Hideyoshi responsible for the conquest of parts of Korea. On December 24, 2009, Shimada Shūhei, a famous TV personality, visited the well and declared it a "powerspot" with particular "profit" (*go-riyaku* ご利益); i.e., wish-fulfilling capacity. Literally overnight, the well became hugely popular, attracting thousands of visitors lining for hours in order to be able to see the well—and have their picture taken in front of it.

in which shrines—and, quite possibly, "Shinto" in general—are perceived, if not by priests, at least by a significant number of visitors. "Superficial" or "commercial" though it may be, it does lead to a renewed interest in shrines as "sacred places" (*seichi*) possessing spiritual power that can directly influence the lives of those engaging in worship practices (prayers, *ema* 絵馬 writing, and the purchase of ritual objects such as *o-mamori* お守り).

Thus, the reinvention of shrines as powerspots seems to constitute a process of sacralization, not primarily driven by the religious institutions themselves but rather by outside actors. This process takes place in parallel with and complementary to more top-down attempts to deprivatize Shinto and resacralize the nation, and may be influenced by academic reimaginations of "sacred places" as sites representing "traditional Japanese spirituality" (and, hence, continuity between the present and an idealized past). Clearly, this sacralization process is not antithetical to the pursuit of "this-worldly" interests and corresponding processes of commodification. But then, such things are not necessarily incompatible with devotional practices, faith, or "spirituality" (however defined). On the contrary, they may actually serve to enforce them. If we do not adhere to a normative-theological understanding of what "sacredness" constitutes, there is no reason to assume that sacralization is incompatible with commercialization, popularization, and various kinds of ideological appropriation.

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Order and Disorder in Meiji Shrine: Festive Events and Practices in 1920

Imaizumi Yoshiko

Meiji Shrine was dedicated to the spirits of Emperor Meiji and his wife, Empress Shōken, after their deaths in 1912 and 1914 (Figure 1).[1] The shrine celebrated its establishment in 1920 with various inaugural events held on and around November 3. The date designated as Meiji Shrine's annual feast day was November 3, Emperor Meiji's birthday. One and a half million people are said to have visited the shrine to participate in these events.

Figure 1. The inner precinct today (Meiji Shrine Archives).

This paper explores two questions: Firstly, how and by whom were the celebrations determined? Secondly, how were these newly formulated ways of celebration in the newly constructed space of Meiji Shrine understood by the people of the day? My purpose is to clarify the process(es) through which celebratory performances became institutionalized, and to explore the dynamic aspects of the operation and acceptance of those performances.

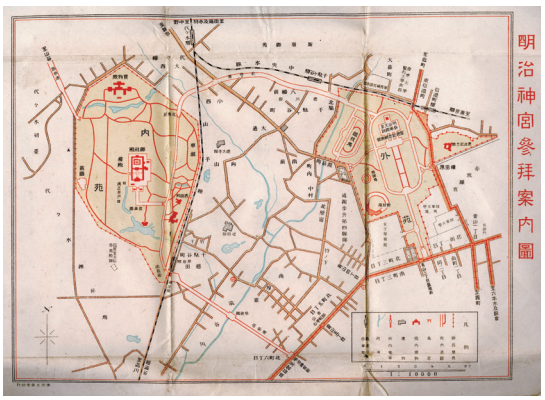

Figure 2. The spatial structure of Meiji Shrine, 1926 (Meiji Shrine Archives).

One important fact that often goes unexamined is that the space of Meiji Shrine consists of various components parts. Moving outwards from the centre of the shrine, there are the shrine's inner precinct 内苑, the outer precinct 外苑, which itself includes different sites such as the art gallery and sports stadium, and finally the shrine's approaches (Figure 2). I am concerned with the social production of the apparently constant and unchanging space that was Meiji Shrine,

[1] This article is based in part on Chapter 1 of my book, *Sacred Space in the Modern City: The Fractured Pasts of Meiji Shrine, 1912–1958* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2003).

and to investigate the dynamics of its production. The meanings of the terms Shinto, religion and shrine themselves have been in constant flux along with the changing nature of the nation state. The only unchanging element is the "place" of the shrine. The discussion begins with this fact, and examines the ways in which events occurring at the place were made, understood and situated in society.[2]

The Institutionalization of the Feast Day

In October 1920, the Home Ministry announced details of the shrine rites (*jinja saishiki* 神社祭式) to be held to mark the foundation of Meiji Shrine (*chinzasaishiki* 鎮座祭式), and those for the shrine's annual feast day (*reisaishiki* 例祭式). These were to be performed by priests on November 1–3 respectively, in the presence of government officials (Figure 3).[3] This three day period was a grand occasion, as can be seen in the Taishō emperor's dispatch of imperial emissaries to convey his greetings to the deities and by the visit to the shrine of the crown prince as imperial proxy on November 2. The Home Minister, Tokonami Takejirō 床次竹二郎, who was also present, wrote:

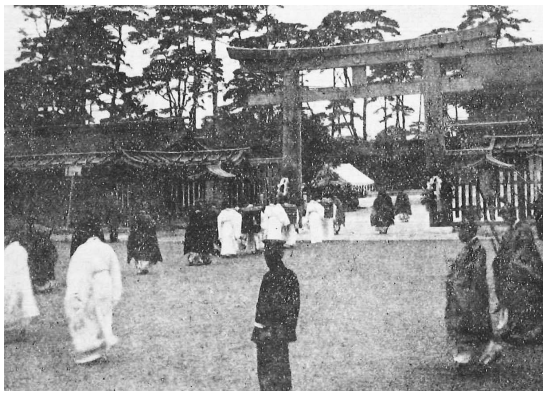

Figure 3. Meiji Shrine foundation rite, November 1, 1920. (Reprinted from *Meiji Jingū zōeishi,* unpaginated.)

> One of the great achievements of Emperor Meiji was his foundation of constitutionalism… The Japanese nation was able to revive its great spirit by his deeds, and the great restoration was made possible by it… On the occasion of the establishment of Meiji Shrine, we, the nation, should promise to develop the great spirit entrusted to us by the emperor.[4]

This kind of narrative clearly indicates how the date of the emperor's birth was celebrated in association with the rebirth of the nation, and indeed with the birth of the place for commemoration itself.

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[2] General accounts on Meiji Shrine are drawn from: Naimushō, Meiji Jingū Zōeikyoku. *Meiji Jingū zōeishi* (Meiji Jingū Zōeikyoku, 1923); Meiji Jingū Gojūnenshi Hensan Iinkai, ed. *Meiji Jingū gojūnenshi* (Meiji Jingū, 1979).

[3] Home Ministry Announcements 34 and 35. *Jinja Kyōkai zasshi, Meiji Jingū chinza kinengō*, 19 (11), 30 November 1920, pp. 44–45, 50–51.

[4] Tokonami Takejirō. "Meiji Jingū to kokumin no kakugo," in *Meiji Jingū*, ed. Kishida Makio (Dōbunkan, 1920), p. 5.

The question here is whether these shrine rites, informed by the Home Ministry's regulations, were alone in constituting the performance dimension of Meiji Shrine. During these three days, "ordinary" people were afforded no opportunity to observe or participate in these rites, as they were not allowed access to the inner precinct before 1 p.m.[5] What then was the attraction for the 1.5 million people? I suggest that it was the celebratory events (*hōshuku gyōji* 奉祝行事), as distinct from shrine rites, that were held in and around the shrine's inner and outer precincts and Hibiya Park. Celebratory performances for the shrine were geographically hierarchized, and in this process different places were also hierarchically combined together as a single performative space.

From the early 1920s onwards, independent plans for celebratory events were being put forward by various groups in competition with one another. The number and variety of these plans greatly bothered members of the Foundation Bureau for Meiji Shrine (Meiji Jingū Zōeikyoku 明治神宮造営局) in the Home Ministry, particularly those concerning inner precinct celebratory events. *Chūgai shōgyō shinbun* noted on August 1, 1920 that many proposals had been submitted to the Foundation Bureau by groups keen to display their prowess through demonstrations and performances, such as archery (both standard and horseback) and flower arranging. The same newspaper also reported the bureau's comment that "the Foundation Bureau does not have any criteria for judging the suitability of these events, and whether each event is relevant to the inner precinct is still under consideration."[6]

It was not only the Home Ministry and the Foundation Bureau for Meiji Shrine that ultimately brought order to the various proposals. Other interested parties were also involved, namely the trinity of Tokyo groups, Tokyo Metropolitan Prefecture, Tokyo City and the Tokyo Chamber of Commerce and Industry (Tokyo Shōgyō Kaigisho 東京商業会議所).[7] Together with the Home Ministry these Tokyo groups set up the Joint Council for Meiji Shrine Celebrations (Meiji Jingū Chinzasai Hōshuku Kyōgikai 明治神宮鎮座祭奉祝協議会) on September 1, 1920 in order to "resolve the appearance of a disordered situation" and to establish the criteria for "relevance." The council chose and organized the celebrations to be held, thus shaping a significant part of the performance dimension of the shrine's feast day. I have tabulated those events which were determined by joint meetings of these interested parties in Tokyo, as well as by the Home Ministry (Table 1).

It is important to note that there were a number of disagreements among the council members regarding the "relevance" of this or that event, and that the subsequent spatial distribution of these events was the result of a process of negotiation. From the very beginning the interested parties contested the Home Ministry's policies. An interesting example of such contestation concerned the suitability or otherwise of parades of portable palanquins (*mikoshi*). An original

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[5] Meiji Jingū, ed. *Meiji Jingū kiroku*. Reprinted in *Meiji Jingū sōsho*, vol. 12, ed. Meiji Jingū (Kokusho Kankōkai, 2000), p. 62.

[6] *Chūgai shōgyō shinbun* (August 1, 1920).

[7] Tōkyō Shōgyō Kaigisho. *Meiji Jingū chinzasai, Tōkyō jitsugyōka hōshuku ni kansuru hōkokusho*. 1921.

Table 1. Meiji Shrine Celebratory Performances in the Inner and Outer Precincts and Hibiya Park

Inner precinct	
祭式 Shrine rites 奉祝行事 Celebratory events	Meiji Jingū chinzasai, November 1 Meiji Jingū reisai, November 3 Sponsor: Home Ministry Japanese fencing and *jūdō* demonstrations, November 2–3 Japanese archery demonstration, November 2–3 Co-sponsors: Tokyo Metropolitan Prefecture, Tokyo City, Tokyo Chamber of Commerce and Industry
Outer precinct	
奉祝行事 Celebratory events	*Sumō*, November 2–3 Horseback archery (*yabusame*), November 2–3 Horse racing (*keiba*), November 2–3 Horse riding performance (*horohiki*), November 3 Co-sponsors: Tokyo Metropolitan Prefecture, Tokyo City, Tokyo Chamber of Commerce and Industry
Hibiya Park	
祭典 Ceremony 奉祝行事 Celebratory events	Celebration party with 2,500 guests, November 2 Sponsor: Tokyo City Meiji Shrine celebration festival with comedy skits (*kigeki*), magic shows, puppet shows, *daikagura* performances, *sumiyoshi* and other dance performances, amateur *sumō* bouts, Japanese fencing demonstrations, *katsudō shashin* film presentations, chrysanthemum exhibition, November 1–3. Sponsor: Tokyo City

Sources: E.g., Tōkyō Shōgyō Kaigisho. *Meiji Jingū chinzasai, Tōkyō jitsugyōka hōshuku ni kansuru hōkokusho*. Meiji Shrine Archives; Meiji Jingū Hōsankai. *Meiji Jingū Hōsankai tsūshin*, vols. 49–60, 1920; Sakatani Yoshirō. *Sakatani Yoshirō Meiji Jingū kankei shorui* vols. 2–3. Meiji Shrine Archives.

plan drawn up and proposed by the Meiji Shrine Support Committee (Meiji Jingū Hōsankai 明治神宮奉賛会) at the 1st of September meeting indicates that participants advocated festive *mikoshi* parades.[8] As *Miyako shinbun* reported, parishioners of many shrines in Tokyo City had formalized plans to parade their own *mikoshi* locally and then head to the inner precinct.[9] On September 16 the *Jiji shinpō* reported, however, that the authorities did not approve of any *mikoshi* entering into the inner precinct.[10] The Home Ministry's opinion was that Meiji Shrine's feast day should differ from those of local shrines, and that typical local shrine events such as *mikoshi* parades were not suitable for Meiji Shrine because it was to be the national shrine.[11] The

[8] Sakatani Yoshirō. *Sakatani Yoshirō Meiji Jingū kankei shorui*, vol. 3 (Meiji Shrine Archives, 1920).

[9] *Miyako shinbun* (September 8, 1920).

[10] *Jiji shinpō* (September 16, 1920).

[11] Meiji Jingū Gojūnenshi Hensan Iinkai, ed. *Gojūnenshi*, pp. 190–204.

comment made by the deputy chief priest, Suzuki Matsutarō 鈴木松太郎, on the occasion of the shrine's first anniversary in 1921 is also highly revealing of the division between the nation/government on the one hand and the local/private on the other.[12] Suzuki suggested that celebratory events held in the inner precinct ought to be considered "government festivals" (*kansai*) and those outside the precinct "private festivals" (*minsai*). *Kokumin shinbun*, amongst others, frowned upon the Home Ministry's decision, since the local Tokyo authorities "were not functioning properly as representatives of Tokyo's people." They further declared that "the festive mood of the people had better not be interfered with."[13]

Formation of the Formal/Festive

How, then, did these joint meetings ultimately solve its disagreements? The strategy they deployed involved a spatial reordering of various celebratory events. Thus, in the inner precinct, the Home Ministry hosted the aforementioned shrine rites according to its own regulations; meanwhile, in the outer precinct (and the grass area of the inner precinct) the Tokyo Metropolitan District and other groups jointly hosted "traditional" performances such as *sumō*; and, finally, in Hibiya Park, Tokyo City hosted festive entertainments such as *kigeki* comedies (Figure 4). It seems that the further removed the place was from the core shrine building, the more the Meiji Shrine celebratory performances shifted from the "formal" to the "festive."[14]

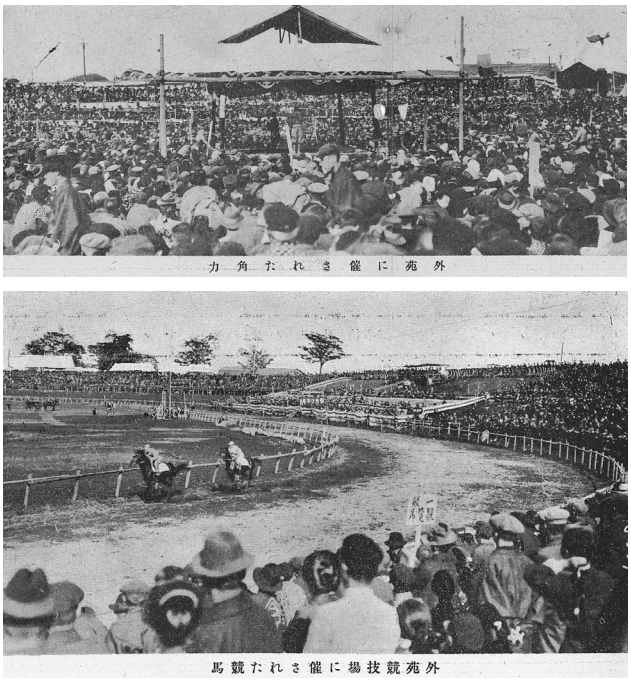

Figure 4. *Sumō* wrestling and horse racing (*keiba*) in the outer precinct, November 2–3, 1920. (Reprinted from *Meiji Jingū*, ed. Kishida Makio, 1920, unpaginated.)

[12] Sakatani. *Sakatani shorui* vol. 3. 1921.

[13] *Kokumin shinbun* (September 26, 1920).

[14] On the discussion of the Hibiya Park as a space for festive occasions, see Ono Ryōhei, *Kōen no tanjō* (Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2003), pp. 168–69.

I would also argue that the spatial distribution of celebratory performances and the differentiation of spaces by these performances worked as mutually legitimating mechanisms. The formation of Meiji Shrines' ritual time and space should be understood as a process of legitimization. The entertainment companies which performed for the general public in Hibiya Park to celebrate the enshrinement were very popular at the time; many of them were re-inventions performed in recently imported Western styles.[15]

For example, the Shōkyokusai Company, which presented magic shows, was popular from the end of Meiji into the Taishō periods. The company specialized in "great Western magic shows," and introduced vaudeville style attractions they had mastered when on tour in America and Europe in 1901 and 1905. Unprecedented in Japan, their variety show was well-known for various tricks with electrical devices and Western music.[16] Another group performing in Hibiya Park was the comedy company Rakutenkai, which began in Kansai, and had become renowned throughout Japan by the end of Meiji. Unlike traditional *kabuki*, Rakutenkai's comic shows had much popular appeal.[17] Puppet shows were also influenced by the West, in this case by marionette theatre. The popularity of these shows had been growing ever since the 1890s, when an English promoter introduced them into Japan. Soon after this, Japanese promoters developed new styles of puppet show, such as those at the Hanayashiki amusement ground in Asakusa. One of the puppeteers there was Yūki Magosaburō 結城孫三郎, whose success derived from his adaptation of marionette theatre; he also performed at the Meiji Shrine festival. Although he liked to be known as Yūki the ninth, legitimate heir of the Edo puppet theatre tradition, he was actually the son of a portrait artist (Figure 5).[18]

Figure 5. Puppeteer, Yūki the ninth. (Reprinted from *Ito ayatsuri no mangekyō*, ed. INAX, 2009, p. 60.)

[15] *Niroku shinbun* (November 1, 1920).

[16] Shosei Shōkyokusai Tenkatsu. "Tenkatsu ichidaiki," in *Nihon no geidan*, vol. 7, ed. Sakuragawa Chūshichi (Kyūgei Shuppan, 1979), pp. 153–246; Horikiri Naoto. *Asakusa: Taishō hen* (Yūbun Shoin, 2005), pp. 116–17; Ōzasa Yoshio. *Nihon gendai engekishi*, vol. 2 (Hakusuisha, 1986), pp. 41–45.

[17] Horikiri. *Asakusa*, pp. 124–32.

[18] Kawajiri Taiji. *Nihon ningyōgeki hattatsushi kō* (Baisei Shobō, 1986), pp. 218–19, 258; Waseda Daigaku, Tsubouchi Hakase Kinen Engeki Hakubutsukan, ed. *Engeki hyakka daijiten*, vol. 5 (Heibonsha, 1961), pp. 473–74.

Many of these new styles were developed by travelling performers, or those who had settled in slum areas. For example, *daikagura*, acted by Kagami Sen'ichirō 鏡味仙一郎 and his Maruichi Company, and *Sumiyoshi* dance, by the Kunimatsu group of the Sumiyoshi Company, had originated as street performances. The sites for such performances had in fact been moved from the streets to designated areas such as Asakusa, under strict regulation of street performances during the Meiji and Taishō periods.[19] The "festive" space of Hibiya Park in November 1920 should be located within a process of continual spatial ordering of these popular performances (Figure 6). It should finally be noted that large festivals, such as the Meiji Shrine celebration events, became occasions for the performers to legitimate their popularity and ability. The nature of the performances themselves was reordered through the power of spatialization, each finding its own position along a continuum from "formal" to "festive."

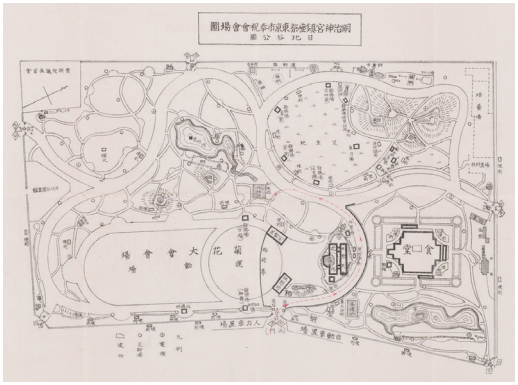

Figure 6. Meiji Shrine celebration festival in Hibiya Park (Meiji Shrine Archives).

The Spatial Experiences of November 3

I hope here to have hinted at the spatial strategies that were deployed to order the multiplicity of performances at Meiji Shrine. The final part of this paper explores the ways in which ordinary people understood and appropriated these seemingly well-ordered spaces and performances in their own contexts. There are several reasons for supposing that the situation on the Meiji Shrine's feast days was more complex than is indicated by the official story as narrated, for example, in the records of the Home Ministry. One reason is the sheer scale of the events. Visiting the inner precinct was for many people an occasion of great excitement, but also confusion (Figure 7).

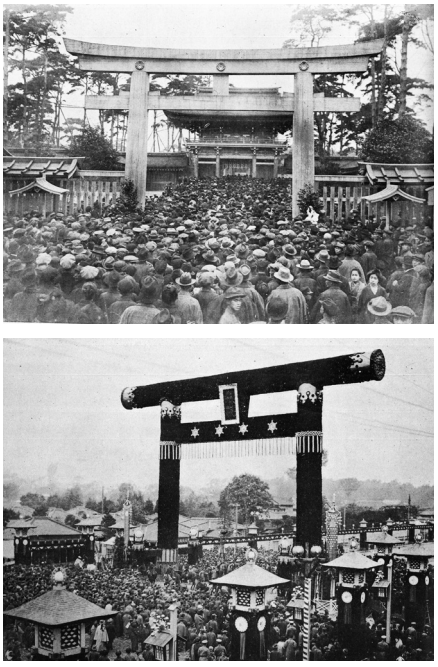

Figure 7. Crowd in the inner precinct and on Omotesandō. (Reprinted from *Meiji Jingū oshashinchō*, ed. Teikoku Gunjin Kyōikukai, 1920, unpaginated.)

[19] Ishizuka Hiromichi and Narita R., eds. *Tōkyō-to no hyakunen* (Yamakawa Shuppansha, 1986), pp. 153–64.

Crowds who could not wait for the 1 p.m. opening time on November 1 turned into a mob and broke through the entry gate of the shrine, causing over 130 injuries and one death.[20] On one day alone, it was reported that over 4,000 pairs of *geta* and *waraji* sandals were handed in to the police as lost articles.[21] So many shrine visitors wanted shrine amulets that the crowds became unmanageable, and the shrine staff had to abandon distributing them.[22] Another reason for my supposing greater complexity relates to a reminiscence written by Mrs. Ieki Sadako 家城定子, who was born in 1933 and raised in Harajuku town, located near the Omotesandō. Mrs. Ieki records the festive atmosphere that prevailed every 3rd of November from the late 1930s through to the early 1940s:

> Every time I meet my childhood friends, we talk about how attractive the sideshows and street stalls were on the Meiji Shrine's annual feast days. These days were the most exciting in the year for us. …The sound of fireworks pulled us into the festivities, and performances such as circuses and daredevil motorcycle riding thrilled us. One of the most surprising sideshows was the "snake woman." … "Issun bōshi" (Tom Thumb) and haunted mansions offered similar kinds of attractions, and both trickery and being tricked were common experiences at these celebratory events.[23]

So What Were the Experiences of 1920 Like for the Public?

Even after the inner precinct closed for the night, the bright lights of the evening entertainments continued to attract many people.[24] In fact, from October 31, illuminations covered much of Tokyo, from the Meiji Shrine approaches over Nijūbashi Bridge and through the Ginza area down to Asakusa. The lively atmosphere sometimes continued to midnight newspaper reports used the word "*fuyajō*," the "city that never sleeps."[25] On the evening of November 2 the police, worried about the disorder, took drastic measures and without notice turned off the lights around Omotesandō. Many newspapers the next morning reported how people disapproved of the authorities' behaviour; perhaps because of this, the police never repeated their action.[26] People found great enjoyment in watching the sideshows and acrobatic performances, sampling the food and shopping at the miscellaneous stalls. Through their walking, parading, and purchasing, those who lived the space of the shrine's festivals transformed the "spatial signifier into something else," and constituted it by their own experiences.[27]

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[20] *Tōkyō asahi shinbun* (November 2, 1920).

[21] Ibid.

[22] *Miyako shinbun* (November 2, 1920).

[23] Ieki Sadako. *Harajuku no omoide* (Kōdansha Shuppan Sābisu Sentā, 2002), pp. 63–65. Translation by the author.

[24] *Tōkyō asahi shinbun* (November 1, 1920).

[25] *Miyako shinbun* (November 2, 1920).

[26] *Tōkyō nichinichi shinbun* (November 4, 1920).

[27] Michel de Certeau. *The Practice of Everyday Life* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), pp. 93–98.

The main locations for these shows and stalls were not the inner and outer precincts but the shrine approaches and paths around the shrine. In particular, the area from outside the west *torii* gate of the inner precinct along the tertiary shrine approach to the Yoyogi parade ground seems to have been very congested with tents and stalls, as well as with people.[28] *Tōkyō asahi shinbun* reported that people were intoxicated with the festivities, suggesting that the events which attracted most people were indeed the entertainments, such as the Yoyogi circus troop and puppet shows.[29] An awareness of these street performances, many of them held in the evening, is important in appreciating how the authorities' spatial and temporal regulations were experienced by ordinary people. Although it is possible to say that the spatiotemporal restrictions were imposed on ordinary people from above, and that popular entertainments were relegated to a relatively low position in the hierarchy, at the same time the people themselves clearly did not see the streets and evenings as some kind of degraded space. It is evident that this distributed space was reordered through peoples' own festive experience.

Interestingly, it was not only in the 1920s but also in the wartime 1930s that such back alley amusements were enjoyed by the common people around the time of the Meiji Shrine festival. For example, according to the recollections of ex-pupils of San'ya Elementary School in Yoyogi, the most fascinating of the 1936 festival performances were motorcycle tricks, snake women and monkey shows.[30] Girls enjoyed receiving coloring books, *origami* and artificial flowers that opened when placed in water. A 1943 graduate from Seinan Elementary School, in Aoyama, has recorded how attractive were the sideshows and street stalls on the days of Meiji Shrine's festival.[31] The days on and around November 3 were the most exciting time in the year, especially for children who lived near the shrine.

The Multi-Accentual Commemoration in Meiji Shrine

Each of the fifteen Tokyo wards exploited the space of the Meiji Shrine feast day as an expansion of their own mode of festival space and a celebration of their own locale. Take, for example, *mikoshi* parades; even after the Home Ministry forbade them to enter the inner precinct, wards and towns continued to compete in building new *mikoshi* and indeed organized *mikoshi* parades during Meiji Shrine's festival period.[32] Local organizers reinterpreted November 3 by orchestrating the festival days of their own local shrines with that of Meiji Shrine, although

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[28] *Tōkyō asahi shinbun* (November 1, 1920).

[29] Ibid.

[30] Shibata Yūji, ed. *Tōkyō-shi San'ya Kokumin Gakkō sotsugyō gojūshūnen kinenshi* (Sanya Shō, Shōwa Jūhachikai, 1995).

[31] Ieki. *Harajuku no omoide*. See also, Watanabe Nagisa, ed. *Kanreki: Seinan Shōgakkō daisanjūsankai sotsugyōsei kanreki kinen shi* (privately published, 1988); Seinan Shōgakkō Sanjūrokukai Dōkikai. *Anokoro Aoyama/ Seinan jidai* (Seinan Shōgakkō Sanjūrokukai Dōkikai, 1994).

[32] *Miyako shinbun* (September 24, 1920).

the date of November 3 bore no relation to that of their local shrine's original establishment.[33] For instance, worshippers of Kameido Tenjin Shrine in Honjo Ward paraded their twenty-four *mikoshi* while clad in *happi* coats bearing Meiji Shrine's crest, and at Hikawa Shrine in Akasaka people also celebrated their own festival with floats. Meanwhile, those who lived in Harajuku and Aoyama were only permitted to parade along Omotesandō before and after November 1–5, although newspaper reports indicate that some parades were in fact held during this time.[34] In one case, more than twenty onlookers assisted the progress of a parade, by first blocking the representatives of the authorities intent on dispersing it, and then knocking them down and hurling them into a ditch.[35]

Asakusa is a good example of how Meiji Shrine's festival worked to appropriate time and space. In his 1920 novel *Kōjin*, Tanizaki Jun'ichirō 谷崎潤一郎 characterizes contemporary Asakusa through three observations, namely that it was visited by people of every class, occupation and age, that the entertainments enjoyed by these people ranged from opera through merry-go-rounds and noodle shops, to visiting prostitutes, and that finally, the diversity of both visitors and amusements was ever increasing, integrating and metamorphosing.[36] The Asakusa Rokku area was the most popular theatre district in the country from the end of the Meiji into the Taishō periods.[37] Even before October 31, 1920, this well-known amusement quarter had decorated itself even more gaudily than usual, enticing more visitors than ever before. Special film shows to celebrate Meiji Shrine's inauguration proved immensely popular, and were frequently advertised in the press (Figure 8). The Asakusa Opera Theatre, for example, advertised a film entitled "Meiji Shrine and the memoirs of General Nogi" under the banner: "Don't miss this chance in a million, a special occasion."[38] In advertisements on November 4, the Fujikan Cinema promoted its newsreels of the celebratory performances and new shrine buildings; the titles of the feature were "The Bustle of the Day" and "Mountainous Crowds and a Sea of People." In other cinemas, such as Denkikan and Chiyodakan, films of

Figure 8. *Kokumin shinbun*, November 1, 1920 (top); *Miyako shinbun*, November 4, 1920 (bottom).

[33] *Tōkyō asahi shinbun* (October 23, 1920).

[34] *Kokumin shinbun, Niroku shinbun* (November 2, 1920).

[35] *Miyako shinbun* (November 1, 1920); *Yomiuri shinbun* (November 6, 1920); *Niroku shinbun* (November 2, 1920).

[36] Tanizaki Jun'ichirō. "Kōjin," in *Tanizaki Jun'ichirō zenshū*, vol. 7 (Chūō Kōronsha, 1967), pp. 81–82.

[37] Horikiri. *Asakusa*, pp. 17–26.

[38] *Miyako shinbun* (November 4, 1920); *Yomiuri shinbun* (November 1 and 3, 1920); *Kokumin shinbun* (November 1–2, 1920); *Niroku shinbun* (November 1, 1920).

Meiji Shrine were shown as extras to Western movies, such as "Dare Devil Jack" starring Jack Dempsey and "The Walk-offs" starring May Allison.[39] Cinema companies such as Shōchiku and Nikkatsu filmed the commotion and energy of the shrine and its surroundings, and the chaotic situation itself became the object of an exhibition in Asakusa.[40] Interestingly, the same advertisements informed the passer-by that "our films enable ladies, children and senior citizens to 'visit' the shrine safely." In fact, as *Miyako shinbun* reported on November 3, many people gathered in Asakusa in order to escape the crush, which actually killed and injured quite a number of shrine visitors.

For many enterprising merchants as well as Asakusa showmen, the Meiji Shrine feast day was above all a good business opportunity. By late October 1920, more than 500 stalls had begun to prepare for the inaugural events. They were able to make huge profits, charging prices two or three times greater than usual.[41] *Tōkyō asahi shinbun* (November 4) criticized the incompetence of the police, who took no action against these merchants. Among the cheapest souvenirs were post cards, which had become very popular collectors' items from the end of Meiji into the beginning of the Shōwa periods.[42] Celebratory post cards for Meiji Shrine completely outsold cards for the national art exhibition, which usually sold very well during November. Over forty different sets of post cards featuring Meiji Shrine were marketed by individual merchants as well as by the Home Ministry, and over 100,000 sets were sold in total.[43] Particularly popular were the wide variety of cards made by individual sellers, as these were cheaper than those produced by the Home Ministry, and had more up-to-date pictures; the most sought-after cards were always those portraying the latest festive events.[44] Furthermore, post cards made excellent advertisements: *Kokumin shinbun*, for example, released post cards in the sky over the Meiji Shrine area during celebratory fly-passes (Figure 9).[45]

Figure 9. Flying postcards, around November 3, 1920. (Author's collection.)

Newspaper advertisements indicate how diversely the occasion was utilized for commercial activities. Shops such as Kubohama Gofukuten and Chirimen Shōten advertised sales, imploring passers-by: "Don't miss our special bargains

[39] *Miyako shinbun* (November 1 and 4, 1920); *Kokumin shinbun* (November 1, 1920).
[40] *Niroku shinbun* (November 3, 1920).
[41] *Yomiuri shinbun* (November 2, 1920); *Niroku shinbun* (November 1, 1920).
[42] Hashizume Shinya. *Ehagaki hyakunen* (Asahi Shinbunsha, 2006), p. 4.
[43] Fujii Eijirō. "Meiji Jingū chinza kinen ehagaki kō." *Kitte shumi* 2:5 (1930), pp. 190–92.
[44] *Miyako shinbun* (November 4, 1920).
[45] *Kokumin shinbun* (November 1, 1920).

after your visit to the shrine."[46] Tenshōdō sold gold and silver cups for the limited period of November 1–15; these were copies of trophies from the shrine, designed by "the foremost artists." Similarly, Tōkyō Bijutsu Company used mail-order promotion to sell commemorative medals which portrayed Emperor Meiji and Meiji Shrine buildings side by side.[47] Companies producing portraits of Emperor Meiji or pictures of Meiji Shrine looked for local franchises: the agency Kokumin Kyōikukai, which sold memorial sets of Meiji Shrine photos, enticed local dealers with the promise of healthy profits, and the Chūgiaikai agency similarly sought distributors around the country for its Meiji Shrine hanging scrolls.[48]

To conclude, what people actually experienced during the Meiji Shrine feast day of 1920 was far from the planned uniformity. People not only consumed the ordered space but also re-ordered it, in their own mode of appropriation. It was within this dynamic process of space production that the events of Meiji Shrine in 1920 unfolded.

[46] *Yomiuri shinbun* (November 1, 1920).
[47] *Miyako shinbun* (November 1, 1920); *Kokumin shinbun* (November 5 and 7, 1920).
[48] *Kokumin shinbun* (November 1–2, 1920).

In Memoriam? Rethinking the Portrait Sculptures of Princess-Abbesses Enshrined in the Dharma Hall at Shinnyoji Temple

Patricia Fister

The portraits of nuns who served as abbesses at Japan's Buddhist imperial convents have multifarious roles and functions; likewise there were diverse circumstances surrounding their creation. Most were commissioned by family members or pupils after an abbess died as commemorative portraits, and they were treated as proxies for the deceased in memorial rituals. Some examples, however, were made according to a living abbess's request, and therefore are not simply memorial or mortuary objects. This paper will focus on a unique group of four sculptural portraits of abbesses from Hōkyōji 宝鏡寺 imperial convent that are enshrined in a hall at the Rinzai Zen temple Shinnyoji 真如寺 in Kyoto, which in addition to serving as the site for special ceremonies connected with Shōkokuji 相国寺 monastery, from the sixteenth century on became the mortuary temple (*bodaiji* 菩提寺) and burial ground for Hōkyōji abbesses.[1] It may seem odd that convent abbesses would be buried at another temple rather than at the convent itself, but there was an old tradition of conducting funerary and burial rites at designated mortuary temples, perhaps related to the desire to protect the living from the "pollution" caused by death.

Origins of Shinnyoji

The "seed" of what later evolved into Shinnyoji was a small chapel constructed by the Rinzai Zen nun Mugai Nyodai 無外如大 (1223–98) in the late thirteenth century in memory of her Chinese teacher Wuzue Zuyuan 無学祖元 (Jp. Mugaku Sogen or Bukkō Kokushi 仏光国師, 1226–85).[2] Previously Mugai Nyodai had founded the convent Keiaiji 景愛寺, which although no longer extant was ranked the highest among the Five Great Rinzai Zen Convents 尼五山 in Kyoto. Hōkyōji convent was closely associated with Keiaiji and traces its spiritual Zen lineage back to Abbess Mugai Nyodai. Although Keiaiji was destroyed by a fire in 1498, the abbesses of

[1] The first Hōkyōji abbess to be buried at Shinnyoji was Kaya Rishun 花屋理春, in 1576.

[2] The chapel was called Shōmyakuan 正脈庵. In the fourteenth century it was expanded into a larger temple by Musō Soseki 夢窓疎石 (1275–1351) and became affiliated with Shōkokuji.

Hōkyōji have continued to hold concurrent titles as honorary abbess of the lost ancestral convent. An interest in maintaining strong bonds with Mugai Nyodai no doubt underlay the desire for Hōkyōji abbesses to be buried at Shinnyoji.

Both Hōkyōji and Shinnyoji were destroyed during the Ōnin War (1467–77). Hōkyōji was relocated to central Kyoto, and for several decades was headed by a succession of women from the Ashikaga and other aristocratic families. In 1644, Emperor Gomizuno-o's daughter Kugon Rishō 久巖理昌 (1631–56) entered Hōkyōji as a novice and she was appointed as abbess in 1646. She died ten years later early in the first month of 1656 and was buried within a few days at Shinnyoji, which was in the process of being restored. Rishō was posthumously given the dharma name Senjuin 仙寿院 . In this paper I will refer to the Hōkyōji abbesses by their dharma names.

Emperor Gomizuno-o and the Enshrining of the First Abbess Portrait Statue

Emperor Gomizuno-o decided to rebuild the Dharma hall (*hattō* 法堂) at Shinnyoji (Figure 1) so that it could serve as the site for memorial services for Senjuin and subsequent Hōkyōji abbesses. Restoration was completed in the twelfth month of 1656, and Emperor Gomizuno-o installed a portrait sculpture of his deceased daughter (Figure 2). The wood sculpture of Senjuin is mentioned in an account of the ceremony marking the completion of the Dharma hall recorded by the chief priest of Kinkakuji, Hōrin Jōshō 鳳林丞章 in his diary *Kakumeiki* 隔蓂記 (ca. 1735–1668).[3] The nearly lifesize seated image was made using the joined woodblock technique and is 63.2 cm high; the eyes are inlaid crystal (*gyokugan* 玉眼). It was coated with layers of lacquer, primer, and polychromy, which is now flaking off. Following clerical portraiture tradition, the youthful princess-abbess is seated in a chair and is represented dressed in formal robes with a surplice (*kesa* 袈裟) draped over her left shoulder and secured with a cord tied to a ring (*hekikan* 璧環). Her pose with hands clasped in prayer, presumably

Figure 1. Dharma hall (*hattō*) at Shinnyoji.

Figure 2. Portrait sculpture of Senjuin (Rishō). Shinnyoji.

[3] *Kakumeiki*, vol. 4, p. 156.

alluding to her piousness, may be modeled after images of the eighth-century devout noblewoman Chūjōhime 中将姫,[4] whom Emperor Gomizuno-o promoted as a role model for his daughters. Placed in front of Senjuin is a wooden mortuary tablet (*ihai* 位牌) engraved with her posthumous name on the front and the date of her death on the back.[5]

There is a document placed inside this image recording that it was restored in 1804, on the occasion of the 150th anniversary of Senjuin's death. The document was temporarily removed and photographed by the Kyoto Prefectural Cultural Properties Protection Division during an examination of the sculpture in 1978 (Figure 3). The description of the Senjuin image in the book on Kyoto portrait sculpture published by the Cultural Properties Protection Division[6] gives the year it was made as 1804, but that is incorrect because the *Kakumeiki* diary clearly records ceremonial rites carried out in front of a wooden image of Senjuin inside the newly refurbished Dharma hall at Shinnyoji in 1656.

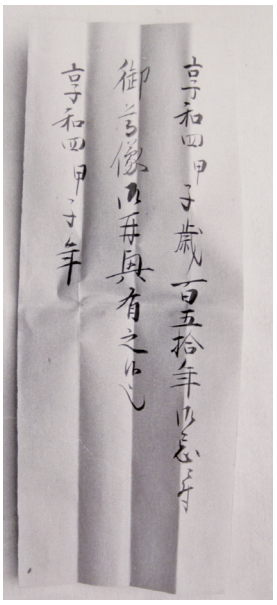

Figure 3. Document placed inside the statue of Senjuin. Photograph courtesy of the Kyoto Prefectural Cultural Properties Protection Division.

Second Portrait Statue: Abbess Gekkyōken

The second sculptural portrait of a Hōkyōji convent abbess to be placed in Shinnyoji is one representing Gekkyōken 月鏡軒 (also known by the names Gyokuzan 玉山 or Rikō 理光; d. 1681) who served as abbess prior to Senjuin (Figure 4). She is the only one of the four abbesses represented in sculpture at Shinnyoji who was not an imperial princess. The daughter of the court noble and at one time regent Takatsukasa Nobufusa 鷹司信房 (1565–1658), Gekkyōken entered Hōkyōji in 1598 at the age of five and was ordained and succeeded as abbess seven years later.[7] She retired when Emperor Gomizuno-o's daughter was installed in 1646.

Figure 4. Portrait sculpture of Gekkyōken (Gyokuzan or Rikō). Shinnyoji.

[4] For illustrations of Chūjōhime, see the exhibition catalogue *Taimadera: Gokuraku jōdo e no akogare* (Nara: Nara Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan, 2013), pp. 88–90.

[5] These tablets were symbolic receptacles for the spirits of the deceased, fulfilling the same function as portraits. They are usually placed on an altar or in a special niche to the side of the main altar at temples. In private homes they are kept in the family's Buddhist altar.

[6] *Kyōto no shōzō chōkoku*, p. 302.

[7] Evidence of the high standing of her family is the fact that her younger sister became the principal wife of Shogun Tokugawa Iemitsu.

The previously mentioned *Kakumeiki* diary records that the retired Hōkyōji abbess Rikō 理光, which is the Buddhist name given to Gekkyōken when she entered the convent, had a wooden *gyakushu* 逆修 image of herself installed at Shinnyoji in the eighth month of 1660;[8] this was twenty-one years prior to her death. *Gyakushu* literally means "reverse rites"; it was not uncommon for court nobility to commission such images, which enabled them to offer prayers and incense before a likeness of themselves while they were still alive in order to secure benefits in the next world.[9] It seems likely that retired abbess Gekkyōken wished to be memorialized in the manner of her successor, whose portrait sculpture had been enshrined at Shinnyoji four years earlier. The image of Gekkyōken is somewhat smaller (43.5 cm) and shows the abbess seated with hands in meditational posture.

When I first visited Shinnyoji in 2007, the wooden mortuary tablet placed in front of this image had the name of a different abbess, Kōtokuin, whose sculptural portrait I will discuss next. The mortuary tablet placed in front Kōtokuin was engraved with the name of yet another abbess (Sanmajiin 三摩地院). Evidently these tablets had gotten mixed up at some point, so in order to confirm the identities of all four portrait sculptures, I re-examined the sculptures, photographs and records taken during the official survey thirty years ago, temple inventories, and painted portraits of the abbesses in question preserved at Hōkyōji.

Shinnyoji temple inventories dating to the Edo and Meiji periods all identify the four wood portrait sculptures as Senjuin, Gekkyōken, Kōtokuin, and Honkakuin.[10] By process of elimination, it can be ascertained that Figure 4 is Abbess Gekkyōken. When I visited Shinnyoji in June 2012 we found her mortuary tablet pushed back on the platform in between her portrait sculpture and the previous statue of Senjuin.

After her death in 1681, Gekkyōken was buried at Shinnyoji; her grave is located within the compound reserved for princess-abbesses, but is not identified with the kind of large stone marker placed by the graves of imperial family members. I found a record at Shinnyoji which describes the graves of the four princess-abbesses and then notes that two other abbesses, Kaya Rishun (d. 1576) and Gekkyōken were also buried there.[11] (Rishun is the abbess who preceded Gekkyōken and likewise was not a princess, but from the noble Konoe family.) Based on this record, I believe that the two unmarked graves (Figure 5) in the above-mentioned compound at Shinnyoji are those of the two non-princess abbesses. Neither the present-day chief priest of Shinnyoji nor the abbess of Hōkyōji was aware of this document or the identities of the occupants of the two graves. Because of weathering of the stone surfaces, the names are almost invisible, but after getting permission to make rubbings of the inscriptions on the gravestones in October 2012, I was able to confirm the death dates of Kaya Rishun on one of them (left)

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[8] *Kakumeiki*, vol. 4, p. 701.

[9] For further information on this practice, see Gerhart 2009, p. 155 and Phillips 2003.

[10] *Shinnyoji kōkatsuchō; Jūmotsu torishirabe sho* (1878); *Shaji jūmotsu torishirabe sho* (1884); *Hōmotsu jūki meisaichō* (1911).

[11] The record has no title or date. The copy at the Kyoto City Library of Historical Documents 京都市歴史資料館 is identified with the document number #7685.

and based on the above-mentioned record made when the engraved inscriptions were still legible, I presume that the other grave (right) must be that of Gekkyōken.

Figure 5. Graves of Kaya Rishun and Gekkyōken. Shinnyoji.

One reason for the present-day obscurity of these two non-imperial abbesses, and perhaps at some point intentional shifting of *ihai* at Shinnyoji, is that at the beginning of the Meiji period, in an effort to bolster their imperial status, many convents removed the names of non-princess abbesses from their official lineage documents. By emphasizing their imperial heritage, their intention was to convince officials to allow them to function as cultural, not simply Buddhist institutions, which the new government was trying to marginalize. I had a long conversation about this with the current abbess of Hōkyōji who did not realize that this kind of "editing" had occurred. Following what she was taught by the former, now deceased abbess, she only chants sutras on behalf of and makes flower and incense offerings at the graves of the princess-abbesses. When I pointed out this problem to the abbess at another one of the remaining imperial convents,[12] she decided to write out a new lineage document in which she re-inserted the non-imperial abbesses who had been dropped in the Meiji period.

Third Portrait Statue: Abbess Kōtokuin

Returning to the images at Shinnyoji, the third abbess to be memorialized in sculpture there was Kōtokuin 高徳院 (Richū 理忠, 1641–89) (Figure 6). She was also a daughter of Emperor Gomizuno-o and was born to the same mother as her older sister Senjuin.[13] Kōtokuin entered Hōkyōji after her sister's death in 1656 and was tonsured in that same year at the age of sixteen. She served as abbess for more than three decades until her death in 1689. An examination of her portrait sculpture by the Kyoto Prefectural Cultural Properties Protection Division in 1978, during which the detachable head was removed, revealed an inscrip-

Figure 6. Portrait sculpture of Kōtokuin (Richū). Shinnyoji.

[12] Kōshōin 光照院 imperial convent, Kyoto.
[13] Hōshunmon'in 逢春門院 (1604–85).

tion on the interior dated Genroku 元禄 3 (1690). This is the year following Abbess Kōtokuin's death, so it was presumably made on the occasion of her first death anniversary. The scholars who did the initial survey also noted that there were what appeared to be ashes wrapped in paper placed inside the image. There is a long tradition in Asia of depositing hair, fingernails, and ashes (referred to as relics) in Buddhist images and portrait sculptures of clergy. Enshrining bodily relics in sculptures was a way of investing images with the spirit of the deceased, so they were more than just symbolic portraits.[14] A second examination of the Kōtokuin sculpture was carried out in September 2012 and photographs taken with a camera inserted into the interior revealed a rosary which had been deposited inside the statue.[15]

The sculpture of Abbess Kōtokuin is nearly lifesize, like her sister Senjuin, with a height of 65 cm. She is represented with hands in the same meditational posture as the previous image of Abbess Gekkyōken. The elongated shape of Kōtokuin's head and distinctive facial features suggest that sculptors did strive to capture some characteristic or likeness of their subjects. This is obviously related to the sculptures' function, i.e. such portraits served not only as reminders, but substitutes for the deceased in memorial rituals. The artisans were probably shown actual robes and surplices for reference so that textile patterns and designs would be authentic. The surplice that Abbess Kōtokuin wears has the same pattern as the one worn by Senjuin, suggesting that it was in fact used by both sisters at Hōkyōji.

Fourth Portrait Statue: Abbess Honkakuin

The last portrait sculpture to be installed at Shinnyoji is that of Abbess Honkakuin 本覚院 (Tokugon Rihō 徳巖理豊, 1672–1745) (Figure 7). The daughter of Emperor Gosai and his wife Higashi Sanjō no Tsubone 東三条局 (d. 1695), she entered the convent as a novice at the age of twelve (1683) and was tonsured later that year. She was tutored by her abbess-aunt Kōtokuin and succeeded as head of the convent following her death. Honkakuin continued her religious studies well into her forties, receiving instruction from two Ōbaku priests.[16] During her long reign as abbess (four decades) she helped to restore and rebuild many buildings at Hōkyōji as well as at Shin-

Figure 7. Portrait sculpture of Honkakuin (Rihō). Shinnyoji.

[14] For further information on portrait sculptures with bodily relics, see Faure 1991, pp. 169–78; Foulk and Sharf 1993/1994; and Sharf 1992.

[15] The examination was done by scholars from the Kyoto Prefectural Cultural Properties Protection Division and the Agency for Cultural Affairs, and a restoration expert from the Bijutsuin conservation laboratory.

[16] Daizui Dōki 大随道機 (1652–1717) and his pupil Hyakusetsu Gen'yō 百拙元養 (1668–1749). Priest Daizui presented her with confirmation of spiritual awakening (*inkajo* 印可状) in 1711.

nyoji, leading her to be designated as the convent's "restorer" (*chūkō* 中興). She was especially focused on reviving the legacy of Abbess Mugai Nyodai, and keen to publicly identify the convent and herself as part of Nyodai's lineage. In addition to compiling a biography of Mugai Nyodai,[17] Honkakuin constructed a special chapel within the Dharma hall at Shinnyoji to house the portrait sculpture of Nyodai (Figure 8)[18] and had a summary of Nyodai's accomplishments engraved on a plaque which she hung on the adjoining wall. Her efforts to distinguish the convent and herself as part of Nyodai's lineage did not go unnoticed: both of Abbess Honkakuin's Ōbaku mentors wrote verses in which they compared her to Mugai Nyodai.[19]

Figure 8. Portrait sculpture of Mugai Nyodai. Shinnyoji.

I assume that the portrait sculpture of Honkakuin was not made until some years after her death (in 1745) since it does not appear in the inventory of objects at Shinnyoji prepared in the late eighteenth century.[20] At present, the wooden image (approximately 43.5 cm high), like the others, is too fragile to move in order to examine the interior, so more precise dating will have to wait until it can be restored. I believe that the sculpture is based on a self-portrait painted by Honkakuin and self inscribed in 1713 that is in the collection of Hōkyōji,[21] except that her hands are in the posture of Zen meditation rather than holding a ceremonial whisk. In both sculpted and painted portraits, Abbess Honkakuin is dressed in a purple robe decorated with the imperial chrysanthemum pattern, and carries the same surplice.

The four abbess statues were not always in the chapel space in which they now reside (Figure 9). I believe that this niche was added along the eastern wall of the Dharma hall sometime in the second half of the eighteenth century, perhaps when it was decided to create a statue in Honkakuin's memory to add to the previous three. From the outside of the hall one can clearly see the one-bay deep extension projecting from what was initially a square building (Figure 10). It is unclear where the first three sculptures were placed in the seventeenth century. An inventory of the objects at Shinnyoji datable to the eighteenth century lists the images of Senjuin and Kōtokuin as

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[17] *Keiai kaisan shiju gan Shōmyaku Sōken Nyodai Oshō den* (Biography of Abbess Mugai Nyodai).

[18] The date of this sculpture is uncertain; however, the *Rokuon nichiroku* 鹿苑日録 diary of successive chief priests at Rokuonji (Kinkakuji) records that the image was restored in 1627, suggesting that the image dates at least back to the sixteenth century and probably earlier. *Rokuon nichiroku*, vol. 5, p. 372. I am grateful to the chief priest Egami Shōdō of Shinnyoji for providing me with the reference to this document.

[19] Preserved at Hōkyōji. For the text of the verses and further details, see Fister 2009, p. 291.

[20] *Shinnyoji kōkatsuchō*.

[21] For an illustration, see *Amamonzeki: A Hidden Heritage: Treasures of the Japanese Imperial Convents* (Tokyo: The Sankei Shimbun, 2009), p. 72.

being in the Dharma hall while the sculpture of Gyokuzan (Gekkyōken) and the mortuary tablets for all three abbesses are listed as being located on the altar in the Abbot's quarters (*hōjō* 方丈).[22] The *hōjō* is no longer extant; obviously at some point the image of Gekkyōken and mortuary tablets were transferred to the Dharma hall, perhaps at the time the extension for enshrining all four sculptures was completed. The extension may have been commissioned by Honkakuin's successor at Hōkyōji, Jōshōmyōin 浄照明院 (Richō/Rishū 理長/理秀, 1725–65). The present arrangement with the four abbesses lined up along one side of the hall recalls the rows of portrait sculptures of Ashikaga shoguns enshrined in the memorial chapel Reikōden 霊光殿 at nearby Tōjiin 等持院—the mortuary temple and burial ground for the Ashikaga shogunal family. Hōkyōji abbesses no doubt had seen the Tōjiin sculptures and perhaps thought this would be an effective way to visually celebrate the lineage of Hōkyōji and the link with Mugai Nyodai, whose statue is within the eyesight of the four portrait sculptures. The fact that the images of Hōkyōji abbesses were enshrined at Shinnyoji and not at Hōkyōji is significant, for it was at Shinnyoji that important ceremonies for the powerful Rinzai monastery Shōkokuji were held.

Figure 9. Niche with portrait sculptures of four Hōkyōji abbesses.

Figure 10. Photograph of extension to Dharma hall.

After the installation of Abbess Honkakuin's statue, there was no space in the chapel area for further sculptures of this size. Presumably for this reason, the two princess-abbesses who succeeded her[23] are memoralized at Shinnyoji by painted, not sculptural portraits.

[22] *Shinnyoji kōkatsuchō.*

[23] Jōshōmyōin and Sanmajiin.

Function and Significance of the Abbess Portrait Statuary at Shinnyoji

How were these images regarded, and how did they function in Shinnyoji's Dharma hall? While only three were commissioned as memorials, in some sense they all performed the role of negotiating the boundary between life and death. Emperor Gomizuno-o no doubt found solace in the portrait he commissioned of his deceased daughter Senjuin, which captured her eternally in the act of prayer. In preparation for her own death, Abbess Gekkyōken sought to build up merit by commissioning a proxy image of herself and performing rites and offerings before it. The third and fourth statues paid tribute to the decades of service of Abbesses Kōtokuin and Honkakuin. All of the images served as substitutes for the abbesses during memorial rituals.

From records preserved at Shinnyoji we know that ritual viewing and veneration took place on the occasions of death anniversaries and special memorial services. Shinnyoji was not open to the public and therefore the images were only seen by priests, nuns, and members of the imperial family. Hōkyōji abbesses regularly participated in memorial rites for the founder, Mugai Nyodai, as well as deceased abbesses. The daily record kept by Shinnyoji[24] reveals that nuns from Hōkyōji visited often to request prayers to be said on death anniversaries and to make arrangements for special memorial services, and in preparation for these rites, the convent frequently sent offerings of money as well as food items and incense.[25]

During memorial services, priests and nuns stood on the central floor of the Dharma hall and chanted sutras, did prostrations, burned incense, and made offerings of tea or hot water in front of the images. For participating abbesses of Hōkyōji, ritual events at Shinnyoji also served as occasions to celebrate their spiritual link with Mugai Nyodai. The portrait sculptures were the visual and liturgical focal point of the rituals. Their three-dimensional forms endowed them with a human presence and they were regarded as embodying the abbesses' physical and spiritual essence. These rituals were carried out regularly until the Meiji period, when government intervention in Buddhist temple affairs disrupted traditions. Much to my surprise, the present-day abbess of Hōkyōji had never been inside the Dharma hall and was unaware of the portrait sculptures although she visits the graves of deceased princess-abbesses on their death anniversaries. I arranged for her to view the interior of the hall and the sculptures in January 2013.

[24] *Shinnyoji kiroku*.

[25] In preparation for special death anniversaries, donations were collected from a wide range of people and temples, and sometimes images and structures were restored. There are numerous documents at Shinnyoji that record the names of participants as well as the amount of their offerings.

Summary

In sum, because of disrupted traditions and forgotten names, for the past few decades these magnificent portrait sculptures have been sitting in obscurity, their wooden bodies developing cracks and their polychromed surfaces slowly disintegrating. With the help of a wide range of primary sources and documents, I have been able to confirm their identities and to piece together parts of the puzzle regarding the circumstances surrounding their creation, original placement, and functions. In July 2012 I visited the Kyoto Prefectural Cultural Properties Protection Division together with the chief priest of Shinnyoji and spoke with one of the Buddhist sculpture specialists about the four sculptural portraits' historical significance and the need for restoration. A restoration expert came to examine the statues in September 2012 and again in April 2013. I am working with the Medieval Japanese Studies Institute (Chūsei Nihon Kenkyū-jo) in Kyoto to seek funding for restoring the portrait sculptures and I believe that restoration will get underway in the next year or two, at which time I will be able to examine the statues more thoroughly and hopefully be able to uncover more of the missing pieces of the puzzle.

*I would like to extend my gratitude to Rev. Egami Shōdō 江上正道, chief priest of Shinnyoji for his generous cooperation and support of this research, and to Nakano Noriyuki 中野慎之 of the Kyoto Prefectural Cultural Properties Protection Division for providing me with research materials. Unless otherwise stated, the photographs are by the author.

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Between History and Heritage: Forests and Mountains as a Figurative Space for Revitalizing the Past in the Works of Ōe Kenzaburō

Reiko Abe Auestad

> History and heritage transmit different things to different audiences. History tells all who will listen what has happened and how things came to be as they are. Heritage passes on exclusive myths of origin and continuance, endowing a select group with prestige and common purpose… History is for all, heritage for ourselves alone. (Lowenthal 1998: 128–29)

Focusing on the tropes of forests and mountains in a few selected works by Ōe Kenzaburō,[1] this article examines how Ōe's literature engages with the notions of history and heritage within the wider debates over national identity in post-war Japan. Ōe often problematizes our commonsensical perception of history by introducing multiple perspectives on it both diachronically and synchronically, as in his 1967 masterpiece, *Man'en gan'nen no futtobōru* (Football in 1860; translated as *The Silent Cry*).[2] The protagonists in the novel, two rivaling brothers, offer widely differing views of certain events that took place in their native village in Shikoku at important historical junctures, 1860, 1945, and 1960,[3] all of which, on a macro level, revolve around, and have implications for our understanding of Japan's relationship with the outside world, especially with the United States. Roughly speaking, the history-oriented, sober take in David Lowenthal's vocabulary is represented by the elder brother, Mitsusaburō, whereas the younger brother, Takashi, represents the heritage-oriented, passionate approach. Through this multifaceted take on the interpretation of the past, *The Silent Cry* exposes gaps between different levels of metarepresentation in history.

Ōe's dedication to history and to his moral obligation in order to remember is well known, as critics and Ōe himself have discussed on numerous occasions (Komori 2002; Narita 1995). Ten years old at the time of the Japanese surrender in 1945, Ōe witnessed the value system he

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[1] The focus is on the forests rather than on the mountains, but it is not always easy to separate the two, because the forest is often part of the mountain landscape. This is especially true when one talks of the forest as the "abode of the dead," because the spirits of the dead are believed to reside in the nearby mountain, which is most likely forested (Satō 2008, p. 12).

[2] Man'en is a Japanese-era name spanning March 1860 to February 1861, and Man'en gan'nen is the first year of Man'en, namely 1860.

[3] Eight years before the Meiji Restoration, peasant riots were rampant in 1860; 1945 marked the Japanese defeat in WWII; and 1960 was the year in which the anti-security treaty movement reached its peak.

was taught to believe in being shattered to pieces as he heard the presumably divine emperor declare the Japanese defeat on the radio. In the aftermath of the war, he saw adults ostensibly and promptly turning democratic and pro-American, the emperor included. This trauma seems to have taught him to distrust ready-made histories, a trauma that became a creative reservoir to tap into when he later became an author.[4] Aware of the necessarily discursive nature of history, Ōe is adamant about scrutinizing the same historical events repeatedly in the hope of shedding new light on them. As a novelist, Ōe's method is naturally that of a fictional narrative: through his literature, he tells engaging stories of the past from highly personal and subjective perspectives, creating tension between history and heritage. Before discussing Ōe's works, I develop conceptual frameworks for the key concepts, history, heritage, and forests necessary for my analysis, as well as the underlying concerns and questions addressed within.

History and Heritage

"All culture is a struggle with oblivion," writes Jan Assmann (2006: 81). We all strive to hold onto the past because it gives us a sense of continuity and belonging, connecting us with our ancestors and fellow citizens. The past, in other words, provides us with invaluable resources for our cultural identity, be it on the individual or collective level (Assmann 2006: 87). Both history and heritage address our relationship to the past and its meaning for the present. They have, however, often been polemically pitted against each other as two disparate approaches to the past, at times serving incompatible purposes. History endeavors to be objective and rational, whereas heritage, which is more heavily reliant on memory and fantasy than facts, allows itself to be subjective and emotional. History, "distant and analytical," alienates us from the past, whereas heritage revitalizes our bond with it (Gillis 1992: 92). Seen in another manner, history "fetishizes archive-based research" (Samuel 1994: 3) and remains arcane and inaccessible for lay readers, whereas personal immediacy is a hallmark of heritage (Lowenthal 1998: 122–23).

After the 1983 publication of the seminal works by Hobsbawn and Ranger as well as Benedict Anderson, *The Invention of Tradition* and *Imagined Communities*, respectively, what might be called the "invention perspective" on the past prevailed, and the criticism of heritage as an invention, or even fabrication, followed suit. A "selective kind of tradition" at best, heritage was viewed by its critics either as a "political vehicle for national culture" or a "commoditised form of de-politicised nostalgia masquerading as tradition" (Brumann and Cox 2010: 3–4).[5]

However, the conceptual focus of heritage and history seems to have shifted in the past

[4] See John Nathan quoting Ōe from Ōe's own memoir, "A Portrait of the Postwar Generation" (Nathan 1977, pp. xiii–xiv).

[5] R. Samuel also writes that the heritage critics have followed suit, treating nostalgia as a contemporary equivalent of what Marxists used to call "false consciousness" and existentialists "bad faith": they are at pains to show deceptions involved in retrieval projects, and the ways in which the received version of the past is sanitized to exclude disturbing elements (Samuel 1994, p. 17).

few decades. The invention perspective has influenced our understanding of history as well, and efforts have been made by various scholars to present more nuanced views of their relationship, focusing more on their similarities and synergy. Raphael Samuel states in his *Theatres of Memory* that he subscribes to the "idea of history as an organic form of knowledge, and one whose sources are promiscuous, drawing not only on real-life experience but also memory and myth, fantasy and desire" (Samuel 1994: x), concluding that history is "an argument about the past, as well as the record of it" (1994: 430).[6]

In his article, "Whose heritage? Un-settling 'the heritage,' Re-imagining the Post-nation," Stuart Hall elaborates on the discursive process through which certain materials or traditions are canonized to represent a given national culture as heritage. These materials or traditions become heritage, or rather, Heritage, because they are deemed valuable in relation to the past for a select mainstream group. Arguing that this retrospective "nation-alised and tradition-alised" notion of culture lies at the heart of heritage, Hall problematizes Heritage in Britain, where it is becoming increasingly multicultural, and emphasizes the need to rewrite it by incorporating the "margins into the centre, the outside into the inside." He endorses Raphael Samuel's *Theatres of Memory*, already noted as a memorable example that promotes such a democratization of heritage (Hall 1999: 7).

As noted earlier, while he distinguishes heritage and history as separate lines of practice, Lowenthal also discusses their complementarities, especially regarding the role heritage plays in enlivening history, in making history more accessible to laypersons. "Dealing with distant times and events beyond their own ken, many see history as inaccessibly alien. … Even the most striking events fade away as they recede into the distant past. For Israelis, the Holocaust is heritage; elsewhere, the most vigilant memorialists cannot keep it from fading away into history" (Lowenthal 1998: 123). Even as he warns against the chauvinism inherent in heritage, he argues that history nevertheless requires heritage to carry conviction in order to make it "alive and kicking."

As many critics of Lowenthal have indicated, the boundary between heritage and history might be fuzzier than he makes it out to be, and his dichotomy is, to an extent, schematic. Nevertheless, the tension between these distinct impulses is useful and illuminating, because it helps us reflect on how we remember, evaluate, and address our past, and someone else's past. In other words, this tension touches on the fundamental difficulty we all have when engaging with someone else's past with equal enthusiasm as with our own, which is a recurrent theme in Ōe's literature.

Avishai Margalit distinguishes between morality, which "tells us how we should regulate our thin relations (strangers)," and ethics, which "tells us how we should regulate our thick relations (parents, friends and lovers)." If I borrow his vocabulary, this tension between history and heritage reminds us of the difficulty of, but the necessary reconciling of, "morality" with

[6] Brumann and Cox defend heritage against its critics in a similar vein. Comparing it with R. Samuel's notion of "resurrectionism," they attempt to appreciate how a living heritage in the process of making "involves creativity, resistance, intentionality; in a word, agency" (Brumann and Cox 2010, p. 12).

"ethics." "Because it encompasses all humanity," he argues that "morality is long on geography and short on memory," whereas "ethics is typically short on geography and long on memory" (Margalit 2004: 8). The memory of the Holocaust for the Jews, the Nanking massacre for the Chinese, or of Hiroshima for the Japanese is long-lasting but elsewhere it can easily fade into history. Heritage can make memory last longer by revitalizing it, but the question is if it can do so not only for a select group of "thick relations" with special interests but for "thin relations" as well. Can a certain way of evoking collective memory, a certain way of telling stories, disrupt the distinction between "us" and "them," and create an opportunity to "thicken" all relations? Does Ōe accomplish this? These are some questions that inform the subtext of this paper.

Pondering on this tension is especially relevant when we reflect on the heated debates over national identity in postwar Japan. A major issue in the contemporary debates over Japanese national identity concerns the question of memories regarding WWII in the broader sense, how to come to terms with its legacies, which for Ōe are related to the role of the imperial institution in modern Japan.[7] My hypothesis regarding Ōe's literature is as follows: It attempts to revise the mainstream version of Japanese heritage by scrutinizing certain aspects of it from the margins, thereby rewriting "the margins into the centre, the outside into the inside," as discussed by Stuart Hall. By adding a highly personal and subjective touch to history, he creates the kind of tension between heritage and history that Lowenthal speaks of, but attempts to resolve it by employing narrative mechanisms that illuminate how these realms traverse each other in a manner that influences our perception of the past. The trope of the forest takes the center stage in these endeavors.

The Forest as an Accomplice of Heritage

We now take a closer look at the forest, the third term in my mentioned conceptual framework. The trope of forests is found not only in Ōe's literature but also in Japanese literature and popular discourse, frequently in connection with the act of remembering. The image of the forest somehow seems to evoke memories, and this is by no means a phenomenon limited to Japan. Robert Harrison, in his discussion on the role forests have played in the post-Christian cultural imagination, argues that forests have "the psychological effect of evoking memories of the past; indeed that they become figures for memory itself. They are enveloped, as it were, in the aura of lost origins" (Harrison 1992: 157).

[7] Philip Seaton appropriately frames the discussion of Japanese war memories as "rifts," introducing "a seismic activity" metaphor to analyze it (Seaton 2007, p. 8). He examines the conflicting conceptual frameworks and emotions within and between the progressive and conservative groupings that surface at certain historical junctures, and concludes that the only "constants within Japanese war memories over the whole of the postwar have been their contested nature." The Japanese have not been able to "establish a dominant cultural narrative of the conflict" (2007, p. 64), which, he argues, can account for the never-ceasing interest in war-related issues in contemporary Japan.

The forest becomes a vehicle for memories deemed worthy of remembering, but, depending on who is remembering, the object of remembrance seems to vary. Miyazaki Hayao, Kawase Naomi, and Murakami Haruki, as well as advocates of the shrine forest are some recent Japanese examples that illustrate the wide-ranging discursive use of the forest in popular imagination. As one of the most quintessential Japanese landscapes that continue to evoke nostalgia, the forest in their rendition seems to become a figurative space, transmitting their respective approaches and views of the past. However, the contours of the past projected in them differ. Ōe's forest is different from, for instance, the shrine forest (*Chinju no mori*), which has gained widespread popularity in the last decade (Breen and Teeuwen 2010: 210; Rots 2013). In other words, the past remembered in the shrine forest is a ground that belongs to the familiar national heritage of Japan that Ōe's literature attempts to problematize.

Aided by environmental and ecological concerns, the notion of the shrine forest (*Chinju no mori*) has gained popularity in recent years. Writing "shrine forest" into the search field of Amazon's Japanese website yields a list of approximately fifty books currently on sale.[8] Some are relatively populist with titles such as *Japan the Land of the Forest*, *Weeping Shrine Forest: What Moves the Mind of the Japanese*, and *A Book to Pay Homage to the Gods of Shrine Forest*, which has a nationalistic spin. A similar discursive practice of heritage is in action, even in more academically oriented texts written by members of the Shrine Forest Society (Shasō Gakkai), a nonprofit organization that was established in 2002 to promote research on, and spread the knowledge of shrine forests. Its member list includes university professors, environmental experts, and shrine priests. Ueda Masaaki, in the preface to their 2004 anthology, for example, draws attention to evidence from selective ancient sources, *Kojiki* (*Record of Ancient Matters*, 712), *Nihon shoki* (*Chronicles of Japan*, 720), *Fudoki* (*Ancient Records of Culture and Geography of the Provinces of Japan*, 713), and the *Man'yōshū* (*Collection of Ten Thousand Leaves*, 759) to demonstrate how kami were thought to reside in forests in ancient times in order to support his theory that the love of the sacred forest by the Japanese is a long-established tradition. The implication is that Shinto was a guardian angel of the forest, the national heritage, and has taken on its stewardship through vicissitudes of time, a claim that has been questioned by recent scholars (Rots 2013).

In contrast, memories evoked in the forest landscape in the literature by Ōe and other writers such as Nakagami Kenji and Tsushima Yūko belong to what might be called a counter-national heritage. These writers use forests to deconstruct the myth of Japanese origins dating back to ancient imperial times. Forests are appropriated as a figure of memory for marginal groups who have been excluded from the master narrative of Japanese history. In many of Ōe's works, some of which I examine, the forest becomes a heritage for those who have lived on the margins of mainstream Japanese society, a symbol for Ōe's anti-imperialistic protest against Japanese national heritage.

[8] http://www.amazon.co.jp/s/ref=nb_sb_noss?__mk_ja_JP=%83J%83%5E%83J%83i&url=search-alias%3Daps&field-keywords=%92%C1%8E%E7%82%CC%90X (accessed October 10, 2013).

This versatility in the content of what is projected in the forest is intriguing. As Harrison indicates, "enigmas and paradoxes" seem inherent in stories regarding forests (Harrison 1992: x). Forests can stand for widely disparate things, some of which ideologically conflict with another. He continues: "In the history of Western civilization forests represent an outlying realm of opacity which has allowed that civilization to estrange itself, enchant itself, terrify itself, ironize itself, in short to project into the forest's shadows its secret and innermost anxieties" (Harrison 1992: xi). This comment is most likely relevant for the forest in the Japanese cultural imagination.

Harrison also indicates that the forest appears as a place where "the logic of distinction goes astray. Or where our subjective categories are confounded." He continues that it is a place "where perceptions become promiscuous with one another, disclosing latent dimensions of time and consciousness. In the forest the inanimate may suddenly become animals, the god turns into a beast, the outlaw stands for justice" (Harrison 1992: x). In other words, the forest as an imaginary landscape offers a haven for fantastic stories, where the commonsense perceptions of things are turned upside down, where preposterous phenomena somehow become believable. The magic aura of lost origins ascribes it a sense of authenticity, and it becomes a bearer of whatever stories one chooses to project into it. In this sense, the forest makes an ideal accomplice of heritage, because it lends credibility to whatever a person believes is worthy of remembrance, namely that person's heritage story.

Ōe Kenzaburō's Intertextual Time Machine and the Marvels of the Forest

As noted, my discussion of heritage and history may evoke the image of the two brothers in *The Silent Cry*, Takashi and Mitsusaburō, as their respective symbols. In relation to the turbulent eras circa 1860 and 1945, Takashi, the younger brother, is concerned with the heritage aspect of their family history in their native forest village, whereas Mitsusaburō, the older brother, is interested in determining exactly what happened, regardless of how unflattering the findings may be for the family. Together, they embark on a discursive journey into the past, attempting to ascertain if such a thing as "the truth" actually exists.

This paper, however, focuses on Ōe's less well-known novel, *Nihyaku nen no kodomo* (*Children of Two Hundred Years*, 2006; shortened as *Children*), because it gives an opportunity to discuss Ōe's treatment of history in many of his other novels. *Children* is an imaginative metafiction referencing Ōe's earlier stories from the forest village of Shikoku, enabling readers to revisit them.[9] The narrative is set in 1984, and three children of a Japanese writer who resembles Ōe spend the summer holidays in their father's native village in Shikoku. The Ōe youngsters test the local belief/legend that the thousand-year-old oak tree in the valley allows children to travel

[9] His earlier works referred to in *Children* are as follows: *Nip the Buds, Shoot the Kids (Memushiri ko'uchi*, 1958; shortened as *Nip the Buds*), and *M/T and the Narrative about the Marvels of the Forest* (*M/T to mori no fushigi no monogatari*, 1986; shortened as *M/T*), which is a rewrite in a more accessible language of his earlier *The Game of Contemporaneity* (*Dōjidai gēmu*, 1979; shortened as *Contemporaneity*).

to "the other world" if they fall sleep in its hollow. This magical tree in the middle of the forest brings them to several otherworldly destinations, the most memorable of which are Ōe's fictional worlds of the 1860s, the years of upheaval immediately before the Meiji Restoration, and the last year of WWII (Ōe 1958, 2007 [1986], respectively). Events from the 1860s and 1945, both watershed years in Japanese history, are his favorite themes that he has fictionalized from several perspectives. The oak tree in the village functions as an intertextual time machine evoking the memories of Ōe's earlier works for the reader. The first time travel adventure brings the Ōe youngsters face to face with Meisuke, a young, legendary hero of the village who makes repeated appearances in his *M/T to mori no fushigi no monogatari* (*M/T and the Narrative about the Marvels of the Forest*, 1986; shortened as *M/T*) as well as *Dōjidai gēmu* (*The Game of Contemporaneity*, 1979; shortened as *Contemporaneity*).[10] When reading the Ōe children's lively conversation with Meisuke, the reader's imagination travels to the foundation narrative of their described native forest village, as told by Ōe's grandmother.

In *M/T*, the narrator, who resembles Ōe, retells the oral traditions of the village, as conveyed to him by his grandmother. He begins the narrative by recalling an episode at his national school during the war, which sets the anti-imperial tone of the entire story. Told to draw the world map by his teacher in class, the narrator as a child, he recalls, drew a picture of his native forest village with Oshikome and Meisuke—the matriarch and trickster pair, *M/T*, watching over them, instead of a map of Greater East Asia with the emperor and empress, which is what his teacher had expected him to draw. Ōe was hit in the face for this defiant act. The anti-imperialist implication becomes even more obvious if one takes an intertextual excursion into *Contemporaneity*, on which *M/T* is based. In *Contemporaneity*, the narrator at the outset refers to *Nihon shoki* and *Kojiki*, where Izanagi and Izanami banish their deformed firstborn babies and islands, Hiruko and Awaji, before creating Japan proper, and declares his allegiance with the marginal Awaji, and his own native village bears the same name (Ōe 1994 [1979]: 55). As Michiko Wilson and Yasuko Claremont have noted, Ōe's anti-imperial intention in the novel may also be gleaned from his comments regarding Yanagita Kunio immediately before its publication. Ōe approvingly cites Yanagita's sympathetic interpretation of the Kunitsukami, the local gods of the earth, who have been chased away by the gods of Heaven, the Amatsukami, who later became gods of the Imperial Family. In Ōe's words, the "gods of disobedient nation [*matsurowanu Kunitsukami*] went deep inside the forest and became demons." He adds, "I attempted to write not a history that revolves around the Emperor, but a history that belongs to those who became demons" (Claremont 2009: 80; Wilson 1986: 105).[11]

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[10] *The Game of Contemporaneity* was not well received by the ordinary reader because of its complex and difficult narrative structure and style. Ōe has openly regretted having lost readers with it, and *M/T* is considered his attempt to reach out to his readers again by writing in a more reader-friendly, accessible style (Ōe quoted in Claremont 2009, p. 81).

[11] Commenting on the group of people known as *yamabito* (people of the mountains) with distinct physical features, Yanagita suggests that they are descendants of the original inhabitants, the Kunitsukami, who were chased away into the forests and mountains by the Amatsukami, the ancestors of the imperial family (Yanagita 1978, pp. 172–86).

However, Yanagita's position regarding imperialist ideology contains ambivalent elements.[12] Mark Teeuwen and John Breen argue that Yanagita, even as he criticizes "top-down imperial Shinto," is not so different from the mainstream Shintoists in his belief in "the original unity of folk ritual and imperial ritual." Both express "the same concerns with fertility, life, and growth that can ultimately be traced back to the ancient Yayoi age when the arrival of rice cultivation led the foundation for Japan's culture." The only aspect that distinguishes Yanagita from the official Shinto line is his insistence that "the local customs of the people constituted the very core of [the] Japanese cultural essence," rather than the official imperial rituals of the court (Breen and Teeuwen 2010: 16). Yanagita looks "to the periphery where he assumed that ancient practices and mentalities had remained untouched by modernity" (Breen and Teeuwen 2010: 15), namely rural Japan. In other words, there is room for ambivalence in Yanagita's position regarding imperial ideology, and Ōe takes advantage of it to appropriate his folklore in his anti-establishment narrative.

The Foundation Narratives in *M/T* and *Contemporaneity*

The confrontational emphasis between the center and peripheries is toned down, and the celebratory resonance of the peripheries is more dominant in *M/T*, but the main plot of the foundation myth in *M/T* is the same as in *Contemporaneity*. The village is founded by a group of dissident samurais "in exile" led by the first legendary hero and trickster, "the one who destroys." In a river upstream deep in the forest, they use dynamite to remove a huge rock that is preventing the basin area from flourishing. After the blast, fifty days of rain follow, reinvigorating the forest and enabling them to live off the rich land. After living comfortably for over 100 years, "the one who destroys" orders the founders of the village to build "the path of the dead" at the edge of the forest. When it is finally finished, the villagers witness the founders marching along the "path of the dead" in the moonlight "until they floated in the air, slowly climbing upward and disappearing into the foggy sky" (Ōe 2007 [1986]: 106).[13] The villagers mourn their loss, but know that "the one who destroys" will continue to give them advice at times of crisis.

Meisuke belongs to the second generation of legendary heroes and tricksters, and plays an important role in 1864—he successfully negotiates a truce between the peasants from a nearby village and the shogunate's armed forces. With the peasants' poverty not alleviated, however,

[12] Mori Kōichi argues that his study led him "only to the ancestor worship rooted in the household and to the tutelary deity worship rooted in the community" and "[n]othing that would justify the ideology of the emperor as head of a so-called 'family-state' came out of his research." He concludes that his study was "in fact critical, therefore, of the modern Japanese state insofar as it relied on such an ideology and sought to unite people under an emperor-centered State Shinto by exploiting the religious traditions of ordinary people" (Mori 1980, p. 106).

[13] All translations from Ōe's texts in this essay are my own.

Meisuke helps them rise against the shogunate a few years later. The uprising is a partial success, but he is left in a dungeon to die. His spirit lives on in the newborn Dōji (a child deity), who becomes the hero trickster in the next historical incidence of importance in the village, "a rebellion against conscription," under the new Meiji government. Dōji stays in contact with Meisuke by "losing consciousness to let his spirit travel to the nearby forest and receive Meisuke's instruction" (Ōe 2007 [1986]: 256).

There is a clear influence of Yanagita Kunio's ancestral spirit here, which is most probably among his best-known contributions. The linkage between the spirits of the dead and forests and mountains as the locus of kami has existed as a strong undercurrent in Japanese popular belief through the vicissitudes of time. It gained, however, widespread popularity in the early twentieth century only after being rearticulated by Yanagita (Satō 2008: 16). In his monograph, *Senzo no hanashi* (*About Our Ancestors*, 1945), Yanagita elaborates on several traits characterizing the Japanese common man's religiosity. One of the most important is the sensibility that the souls of the dead remain in proximity to their village communities and do not travel far (e.g., to the Pure Land), or return to nothingness. Most typically they remain in the mountain nearby, watch over their descendants, and maintain contact by appearing in appropriate ceremonial occasions, such as the *bon* and *matsuri* festivals. However, their activities are not restricted to these occasions. The spirits of the dead are thought to travel freely to the world of the living, and communicate with them if they are "invited." With the passing of time, the individual spirits of the dead become assimilated into the common ancestral spirit of the community, and eventually join the kami of the mountain (Satō 2008: 12). As Satō indicates, Yanagita's thoughts were so influential that much of what we commonly believe to be the "uniquely Japanese" view of death and soul is indebted to his modern recapitulation of certain aspects of the "nativist scholarship" founded by Motoori Norinaga and Hirata Atsutane (Satō 2008: 16).

The spirits of "the one who destroys" and Meisuke communicate with the villagers when they believe they are called upon. With the passing of time, the individual spirits are assimilated into something akin to the "common ancestral spirit of the community," and are a part of what Ōe's mother refers to as "the marvels of the forest," joining the kami in the nearby mountain. The mother succinctly summarizes their common religious belief as follows:

> The marvels of the forest lie at the source of our life, as we are born, grow up, live and die. Those who are born in the village become spirits when they die, and fly in a circle over the village, before finally settling down at the root of a given tree up in the forest. They however fly down to the village to be reborn as human again when their time comes, and the pattern of life and death repeats itself. Our individual lives, in other words, were originally one with the marvels of the forest, but we became separated when we joined the humans in the village. It is therefore to these marvels of the forest where we were to begin with, that we feel longing and nostalgia for. (Ōe 2007 [1986]: 388–89)

Over 100 years after the village is established, the fields become less fertile, the narrative continues, and social inequality within the community becomes increasingly visible. People begin to feel the need for reform. The reform movement led by Oshikome, the legendary heroine and matriarch, takes the form of de-privatization of the land and its intensive collective cultivation. Oshikome goes so far as to burn all the houses in the village in order to destroy the social hierarchy that has taken root in it. The narrator interprets the whole reform movement as a form of *matsuri* festival, which functions as an occasion to create order out of disorder by redrawing boundaries.

The entertaining and playful aspect of the festival is symbolized by Oshikome and the youngsters "acting up and fooling around" on top of the mountain (Ōe 1994 [1979]: 183). Oshikome climbs the mountain in the middle of the rice field and lies down, shedding her clothes. By then she becomes a giant, and Oshikome's "plump and corpulent white body in the moonlight…looked like a small white hill." Naked youngsters with their red loincloth climb Oshikome's body to play.

Through the rich imagery of the forest and mountain, beyond which is "the other side," the narrative in *M/T* is an engaging portrait of the human community's interactions with the dead spirits of their ancestors. The legendary heroes and tricksters and heroines and matriarchs mediate between the two realms, "this side" and "the other side," occasionally with playful trickery, other times through coercion, ensuring that the villagers learn to live within their means. Excess is punished, but the tricksters provide the villagers with opportunities "to fool around" on appropriate occasions in order to liberate their otherwise suppressed energies, in a manner reminiscent of the Bakhtinian carnivalesque.

Secrets from the Past in *Children*

Let us return to the narrative in *Children*, and focus on other villagers gossiping about the more recent past. A villager, Shigeko, shares with others her experience in the hollow of the oak tree. Her mother tells Shigeko and her sister about a group of young boys from the reformatory in Tokyo who were evacuated in the nearby village toward the end of the war, an incidence described in Ōe's novel, *Nip the Buds, Shoot the Kids*. When some villagers grew ill, rumors spread that these boys had brought typhus, and people deserted the village in a panic, building a barricade outside to ensure they could not escape. The boys tried to survive by stealing food from deserted farmhouses, but one of them drowned in the river. This occurrence, however, is not mentioned in the official history of the municipality after the war. Wanting to ascertain what had actually happened, Shigeko and her sister time travel to 1945 in the oak tree, and manage to catch a glimpse of the boys sauntering in the playground of the school where they were confined.

Over the course of their conversation, other small secrets are revealed: the villagers joining forces to hunt down deserters of the imperial army, abandoning a sick village girl thought to be

infected with typhus in a farmhouse, and the firing of a male teacher who camped outside the tree hollow while the two sisters slept inside, based on a groundless account of improper conduct. Thanks to the magic of the thousand-year-old oak tree, their collective memories, including unflattering details, are made "alive and kicking." The Ōe children can relive the experience as if they had been there, and learn lessons from their forefathers' history.

In summary, the lessons they learn concern the heritages for those at the periphery of mainstream society, which are not recorded in historical archives. They represent the voices of the marginalized: those of the descendants of Yanagita Kunio's gods of the earth, of the matriarch and trickster pair of the mythical forest village, of the founding dissident samurais opposing the shogunate, of oppressed peasants, of rebels against conscription, of deserting soldiers of the emperor's army, of naughty children from the reformatory, and of the ousted teacher who helps children fulfill their other-worldly dream. Together with the matriarch and trickster pair, M/T, the Ōe children, and the reader are invited to salvage the memories of small histories by excavating the tales of these forgotten people. *Children* revives heritages that are in a complex manner intertwined with the official national Heritage, but have nevertheless been repressed into the recesses of the cultural unconscious, thereby rewriting "the margins into the centre, the outside into the inside," in Stuart Hall's words.

Mediating between "Thick Relations" and "Thin Relations"

Numerous heritages concern the Japanese national identity, even within the mainstream: the Yayoi rice culture and the imperial tradition established within, the shrine forest, the "reverence for the forest" in the long-neglected Jōmon culture, and Yanagita Kunio's common people including "mountain people." Taking advantage of cracks and interstices in the mainstream heritages, Ōe rewrites the "margins into the centre, the outside into the inside." By converting hierarchies within them, he relativizes them, and succeeds in deconstructing a certain well-established national cultural imaginary that, in turn, functions as an indirect critique of the "wrong" modern priorities that led Japan into the disastrous war. In the process of this revision, the image of the forest works effectively in this endeavor to enliven history. The forest, with its potent and vibrant image that still attracts popular attention in Japan, effectively functions as a figurative and essentialized space, revitalizing and refiguring their visions of the past.

The spirited forest is undoubtedly a discursively created heritage, an "invented tradition." However, if it nevertheless helps transform thin relations into thicker ones, even only for a while, we cannot afford to dismiss it as false in a world otherwise riddled with tension and conflicts. This power to move others, to invite empathy, however, is both an advantage and a disadvantage. It can make thick relations even thicker, fostering parochial chauvinism among them, further increasing the distance with strangers. The only way to avoid this pitfall is to realize that the potency of an image that a heritage carries and its versatility are actually closely related. It is

precisely because it is powerful that it can stand for many things. The forest as heritage generates a sense of engagement, sometimes passion, which allows a leap of logic that binds it to diverse, logically unrelated values such as a patriotic love for Japan, the voices of the marginalized, of the traumatized and the war dead, or even global environmentalism. We must also be aware that this malleability means, in turn, that it is prone to revision and reinterpretation. To borrow Lowenthal's words again, "the past is ever being remade and retold, and heritage is not fixed but changes in response to our own needs" (Lowenthal 1998: 250). Heritage, in other words, always intervenes in history, creatively and powerfully.

It is therefore imperative to examine "how we variously affect these linked realms" of history and heritage, so that we can "learn to relish, rather than resent, our own interventions and even to tolerate those of others." As long as we stay alert against the perils of "embrac[ing] heritage *as history*," and "disguising authority as authenticity," we can learn to live with both heritage and history, reaping the fruit of their collaboration (Lowenthal 1998: 250).

In conclusion, I quote Ōe's warning regarding this linked realm between heritage and history. The narrator in *M/T*, the Ōe-like figure, qualifies his grandmother's foundation narrative as follows:

> "It is a tale from the long time past, so you have to listen to it as if it all happened, even if it didn't. Got it?" My grandmother always began her tale with this warning, to which I invariably replied, "Yeah." I had a vague, indescribable fear that I might be contributing to fabricating the past by believing it all happened as I was told. … Once saying "Yeah," to my grandmother, however, the words that came out of her mouth had a power to penetrate into my heart in such a way as to make me believe everything in them, even though the content of the tales were at times quite preposterous. (My translation; Ōe 2007 [1986]: 32–34)

The grandmother's tale regarding the marvels of the forest has the power to engage the reader and comes across as credible, even for the reader whose geography is distant from Ōe's native village in Shikoku. The reader is invited to join the grandmother *(M/T)* and Ōe's children (*Children*) in their discursive journey into the past, excavating both historical events and fictional ones, and in the process, learn to appreciate the heritage of their native village, as if it was their own.

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Multiple Chōmeis: The Last Moment of Contemplation in *Hosshinshū* and *Hōjōki*

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Kamo no Chōmei's (1155–1216) writings present a fascinating case for anyone who is interested in medieval Buddhist self-narration. His most famous work, *Record of the Ten-Foot-Square-Hut* (*Hōjōki*, 1212) has received a lot of attention from both Japanese and Western scholars and has often been compared to Saint Augustine's *Confessions*, since he openly discusses the flaws of his nature and other intimate details of his life. At the time when Kamo no Chōmei was writing his autobiographical account at the age of fifty-eight, he was also collecting stories about people who aspired to be reborn in the Pure Land. These stories of both successful and unsuccessful rebirths (*ōjō*) eventually found their way to his collection of Buddhist tales (*setsuwa*) called "A Collection of Tales on the Awakening of the Faith" (*Hosshinshū*, 1214). It is important to notice that both of these works were written by an old man who was looking back at the events that had led to the moment, while preparing for the inevitable approach of death. The ending of *Hōjōki* represents one of the most beautiful pieces of self-writing during the early Kamakura era and serves as a good starting point for a discussion of the author's attitudes towards his life and death. I will cite it here in full using the Helen Craig McCullough's excellent translation (McCullough 1990: 392):

> The moon of my life is setting; my remaining years approach the rim of the hills. Very soon, I shall face the darkness of the Three Evil Paths. Which of my old disappointments is worth fretting over now? The Buddha teaches us to reject worldly things. Even my affection for this thatched hut is a sin; even my love of tranquility must be accounted as impediment to rebirth. Why do I waste time in description of inconsequential pleasures? As I reflect on these things in the quiet moments before dawn, I put a question to myself:
>
> > You retired to the seclusion of remote hills so that you might discipline your mind and practice the Way, but your impure spirit belies your monkish garb. Your dwelling presumes to imitate the abode of the honourable Yuima, but you are worse than Śuddhipanthaka when it comes to obeying the commandments. Is this because you let yourself be troubled by karma-ordained poverty, or has your deluded mind finally lost its sanity?
>
> The question remains unanswered. I can do no other than use my impure tongue for three or four repetitions of Amida's sacred name. Then I fall silent.

Yamada Shōzen has pointed out that we encounter two Chōmeis in this passage—the awakened Chōmei and the deluded Chōmei (Yamada 2013b: 112). The first of these criticizes his own affection for the thatched hut, while the second enjoys the tranquility of seclusion that one can express in poetry and music. The first Chōmei is questioning the self, steeped in worldly pleasures, and the second cannot say anything in his defense and thus remains silent. He will repeat *nenbutsu* few times, but there is no certainty as to whether it really works. Thus, Yamada outlines two different voices inherent in the text—one belonging to the *sukimono*[1] Chōmei and the other belonging to a Buddhist practitioner who we can refer to as *śramana* Ren'in (this is the Dharma-name of the author he used for signing *Hōjōki*). Yet another way of labeling these opposing identities can be found in the above-cited passage, where the author, focusing on himself from the outside, describes himself as either the wise Vimalakirti or the dull-witted Śuddhipanthaka. Since the question of which of these images or voices is closer to the historical person Kamo no Nagaakira "remains unanswered," scholars in different ages have struggled to answer it.

The inability to come to a final conclusion concerning the author's attitude towards his practice is largely caused by the ambiguous nature of the word *fushō* in the expression *fushō no amida-butsu* 不請の阿弥陀仏, which has fuelled a lot of controversy. Looking at the translation cited above, we can see that McCullough has omitted the word *fushō* from her translation altogether. Burton Watson translated *fushō* as "ineffectual" (Watson 2002: 77); this follows the interpretation of Yasuraoka Kōsaku (among others), who argues that, by using this word, the author describes his practice as "immature, insufficient and confused" (Yasuraoka 1998: 223). This represents a common attitude among those scholars who see Chōmei as a person devoted solely to literature. Imanari Genshō is one scholar who has fought furiously against the narrative of the "deluded Chōmei"[2] in many of his articles, stressing that it is quite reasonable to think that, after moving to the Hino area, his practice deepened so that he reached the level of other famous *hijiri* living on the mountains.[3] Therefore, according to Imanari, we should interpret *fushō* in the context of the Mahayana sutras, where it is usually understood as "a friend who helps without asking" (*fushō no tomo* 不請之友). This refers to a Bodhisattva, who is devoted to helping living beings go to the other shore without the need for any reward. Imanari is certain that the author "used this expression because he was confident that 'Amida buddha works without asking,' thus purifying the six organs of sense. The only thing that one could truly use the impure tongue to say is *fushō no amida-butsu*" (Imanari 2005: 168–69).

Yamada Shōzen also analyses the meaning of *fushō* from the perspective of Buddhist writings and argues that it would not be too farfetched to compare the usage of this word to that

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[1] This word was used to refer to those who were single-mindedly devoted to the path of poetry or music. For a lengthy discussion of *sukimono* Chōmei, see Rajyashree Pandey's article "Suki and Religious Awakening: Kamo no Chōmei's *Hosshinshū*," *Monumenta Nipponica*, 47:3 (1993), pp. 229–321.

[2] The main proponent of this argument in English writings on Chōmei has been Thomas Blenman Hare who wrote, "The old man never finds his awakening" (Hare 1989, p. 228).

[3] In "The Moon Recitations" (*Gakkōshiki*), Zenjaku even refers to him as Ren'in-shōnin (see Ōsone and Kubota 2000, p. 522), which shows that his Buddhist identity was taken seriously in some circles.

by other thinkers like Dōgen living during the same era (Yamada 2013a: 56). He states that the central meaning of this word should be close to the one found in "Vimalakirti Sutra" and other Buddhist writings with which Chōmei was familiar. On the one hand, there is the deluded Chōmei who cannot find salvation, and on the other hand, there is the awakened Chōmei, who knows that *nenbutsu* works without asking. However, Yamada's analysis of the fractured nature of the ending of *Hōjōki* does not stop here. He not only outlines the two distinct voices (the awakened and deluded Chōmei) that are inherent in the text, but he also hints at the presence of a third Chōmei, who observes the other two from a certain distance (Yamada 2013a: 57). It is in this act of observing or focalizing different aspects of the self in writing that the author truly reveals himself. Having arrived at this conclusion, Yamada still subscribes to the idea that any findings based on reading the text should be superimposed on the historical person. He writes, "I think we can discover here Chōmei during his late years who is unable to make a leap from observer to practitioner. He was destined to wander aimlessly until his death" (Yamada 2013b: 126). According to Yamada, one cannot really get into wholeheartedly voicing the name of Amida by observing things from a distance, as writers often do, and this leads to Chōmei's practice eventually failing.[4]

It is clear that, in discussing the key terms and their interpretation, the scholars resort to a particular image of the author gleaned from a close reading of the text. Different camps present compelling arguments for their particular vision of the "Chōmei as human being" (*ningen*-Chōmei, see Yasuraoka 1998: 228–29) behind the words found in his writings. I believe that this battle cannot be won by choosing sides, but rather by accepting the fractured nature of the author's voice that is so cleverly pointed out by Yamada. We have to take into account that literature, even when it is autobiographical in nature, serves as a testing ground for different possible selves. Instead of reducing all readings of *Hōjōki* to the self-expression of one singular historical person, we can move forward and accept the possibility of multiple selves being present in the text.

In the following discussion, I would like to approach the ending of *Hōjōki* by taking a very long detour through some philosophical ideas presented in *Hosshinshū*, and I hope to outline the somatic aspects of the self in the process. I will try to show that, whereas on the higher level of the synthesis of self, there is indeed a clear fracture between the awakened and the deluded self, on the lower level we can trace the multiplicity of smaller selves, called "larval selves" by Gilles Deleuze, working in every moment of contemplation. To successfully face one's last moment, one needs to control the narrative level of self; also, the numerous contemplative souls or selves present in one's body. I will therefore argue that Chōmei was indeed an "observer" as Yamada said, but in a very involved way. Since the following discussion supports reading both *Hōjōki* and *Hosshinshū* as part of Buddhist literature, I will here switch the author's name from Chōmei to Ren'in, to remind the reader that I am constructing the author's voice from the perspective of Buddhist discourse.

[4] See also the discussion of Yamada's article in Pandey 1998, p. 167.

In doing this, I am not choosing sides and I am fully aware that another author—the court-poet Chōmei—is also present in the text, ready to undermine every word I say.

Contemplating Selves

When we want to understand how "self" functions in medieval Japanese writings that describe the death of an individual being, we have to take into account that self was not only connected to an intellectual understanding of self, but also deeply rooted in different somatic aspects of one's body. The central concept that governs any discussion of death in medieval Japan is *nen* 念, which appears in many different forms in *Hosshinshū*: "single moment of contemplation" (*ichinen* 一念), "right contemplation" (*shōnen* 正念) and "deluded contemplation" (*mōnen* 妄念): all refer to the quality of the final seconds of a man's life. *Hōjōki* and *Hosshinshū* were both greatly influenced by Genshin's (942–1017) "Essentials of Birth in the Pure Land" (*Ōjō yōshū*, 985), which contains important instructions for deathbed practice. A copy of this text even found a prominent place in Ren'in's hut (McCullough 1990: 388), and should therefore serve as a good starting point for discussing these concepts.

One of the important points made by this treatise is often repeated in stories of a good rebirth (*ōjō* 往生). The good friend (*zenchishiki* 善知識) should admonish the dying person with following words (Dobbins 1999: 174): "Follower of the Buddha, do you realize it? This is your last thought, this single reflection at death outweighs [all] the karmic acts of a hundred years. If this instant should pass you by, rebirth [in samsara] will be unavoidable." Dobbins translated *ichinen* as "single reflection at death," but the moment of death was really an utmost test of not only mental resolve, but also the control of one's body. Keeping the hand in the position of mudra and keeping one's composure at the moment of death was seen as a benevolent sign, but the contorting of hands and feet, sweating from the entire body, defecating without awareness, etc., were considered to be signs that a bad rebirth would occur (Stone 2008: 80). Therefore, the final *nen* is about the state of the whole body-mind, which is not often thought of, especially since the English translation of this term usually loses all somatic connotations, overstressing "thinking" and "reflection."

The original use of the character *nen* 念 was firmly rooted in thinking and feeling something in one's heart (even in Japanese it has been read *omou* "to think"), but since Buddhist concepts like *cittakṣaṇa* (moment of contemplation) began to be translated as *ichinen* 一念, people also started to use this sinograph in the sense of thought-moment (Sueki 2012: 93). Following this understanding, translating *nen* as "thought-moment" seems to be quite suitable for the needs of most translators, but there is yet another aspect to this term, which comes from the sinograph *nen* itself. When we look at the parts of this character, we see that it is composed of the upper part "now" 今 and the lower part "heart-mind" 心, which can be interpreted as referring to the state of mind in the present moment. A closer look at

the etymology of the character reveals that the upper part, meaning "now," is a simplified form of the sinograph "to incorporate" 含 (*fukumu*) (Kamata and Yoneyama 2004). Thus, contemplation (*nen*) as a concept seems to suggest the ways that different outside impulses are dealt with and incorporated into one's habitual pattern of behavior. In his discussion of the concept of *xīn* 心 in the writing of Mencius, Douglas Robinson argues that we should translate it as "heart-becoming-mind" or as "feeling-becoming-thinking" (Robinson 2013: 14). He writes: "… to map an emotion as a feeling is to become aware of it, to attend to it, to presence it, to become able to distinguish it from other body states. … As thinking continues to emerge from feeling, ever subtler maps are sketched in—comparing, remembering, imagining, and so on—until we reach what we in the West take to be the pinnacle of thinking, various logical operations (categorizing, sequencing, hierarchizing, and so on)" (Robinson 2013: 15). If we agree with Robinson's approach, we could say that contemplation (*nen*) describes the process through which heart becomes mind and feeling becomes thinking, but also vice versa—it provides a pathway for contemplating the ground of mind and thinking by noticing the different feelings and sensations that are produced by our bodies.

Somatic aspects were also very important in the writings of the founder of the Tiantai tradition, Zhiyi (538–97), whose ideas were very influential in Japan. According to him, the idea of a "single thought-moment comprising three thousand realms" (*ichinen-sanzen* 一念三千) means that "mind is dharmas, and all dharmas are mind" (Stone 1999: 179). Both come to being in the same moment of contemplation. He goes on to say, "Where there is no mind, that is the end of matter; but if the mind comes into being to the slightest degree whatsoever, it immediately contains three thousand [realms]" (Stone 1999: 179). This suggests that one way to think about *nen* is to take it as a process of contemplation, as discussed by Gilles Deleuze in "Difference and Repetition."[5] He tells us that every organism is a sum of contractions, retentions, and expectations. This constitutes time as "lived presence" (Deleuze 1994: 73). The heart, for example, contracts and dilates, then contracts and dilates again. This resembles the ticking of a clock. But according to Deleuze, "contraction also refers to fusion of successive tick-tocks (cases of repetition) in a contemplative soul" and thus "a soul must be attributed to the heart, to the muscles, nerves and cells, but a contemplative soul whose entire function is to contract a habit" (Deleuze 1994: 74). Thus, he arrives at a conclusion that everything is in the process of contracting and contemplating something (Deleuze 1994: 75):

> What organism is not made of elements and cases of repetition, of contemplated and contracted water, nitrogen, carbon, chlorides and sulphates, thereby intertwining all the habits of which it is composed? … Perhaps it is irony to say that everything is contemplation, even rocks and woods, animals and men … but irony in turn is still contemplation, nothing but contemplation…

[5] For further discussion of contemplation and Deleuze's philosophy of time see Ott et al. 2010.

We are accustomed to thinking that *nen* operates on the higher lever of intellect—contracting one's past life and anticipating future (for Ren'in, the seemingly unsurpassable line between the awakened and deluded self), but we lose sight of the somatic level of contractions and contemplation's occurring in the body. The real question is whether one's body has acquired the habit of dying, whether the different organs are able to contract and contemplate death. Mindfulness (yet another possibility for translating *nen*) would mean accepting the layered nature of contractions and contemplations that occurs in every single moment and accepting the multiplicity of contemplating souls (Deleuze also calls these "little selves" or "larval selves") that are created by habits. It should be clear from these arguments that philosophical thinking about death and contemplating death in Buddhist thought are completely different operations, since the latter is deeply rooted in somatic practice.

In *Hōjōki*, Ren'in discusses one's "heart-becoming-mind" (*kokoro*) as the process of interaction with four great elements (*shidai* 四大). He closely follows the teachings found in "The Vimalakirti Sutra," where it is explained that men's illnesses arise from the four great elements, since all phenomena, including the body, are composed of them: "The four great elements come together, and therefore we apply a makeshift name, calling the thing a body. But the four major elements have no master, and the body has no 'I' or ego" (Watson 1997: 68). The body is nothing but a temporary formation of the elements like "foam on the water, bubbles on the water" (Watson 1997: 83). This forms a philosophical background for understanding the relationship of the "inner self" with exterior phenomena in Ren'in's writings. He describes all disasters (including whirlwinds, fires, and starvation) as rising from the instability of the elements. The mind (*kokoro*) is intimately connected with this instability, constantly contracting and contemplating the elements, thus leading to suffering and unease. Ren'in cites Kegon Sutra, "The triple world is but one mind" (McCullough 1990: 392), to stress that there is nothing that is separate from one's heart-becoming-mind. As we saw earlier, Deleuze breaks the body and mind into different "small selves," which interact with different formations of elements. Ren'in also breaks his body-mind into functional wholes, thus dissipating the central "I"—the master of one's body. He writes, "I divide my body and put it to two uses: its suits me very well to use my hands as servants and feet as conveyances. My mind understands my body's distress: I allow the body to rest when it is distressed and use it when it feels energetic" (McCullough 1990: 391). Although we might read this as a dualistic statement concerning the separation of the body and mind, it is clear that the mind does not control the body; it is, rather, the body that gives signals of distress to the mind and demands attention. Thus, the author treats his own body as a formation of different "selves" or "contemplative souls," which express themselves by transmitting their own signals that one needs to be aware of. The troubles start when one superimposes a "master self" on these smaller centers operating inside one's body-mind. This also implies that the body should always be actualized according to present needs and that one should be able to understand the habits one has formed in order to be able to overcome and redefine them.

When we think about the situation of death, one should be able to listen to the signals of the dying body much in the same way during the last moment of contemplation. At the last moment of one's life, one should let go of the "master self" and contemplate the constant forming and reforming of the four elements. When one realizes how the elements come together and dissipate, how we attach meaning to their temporary formations, one will not be deluded by any of them. One might successfully form a different body, which would serve as "a conveyance" that can carry one to the other shore. This body can only be created through single-minded devotion to *nenbutsu*. This kind of selfless single-minded devotion opens up the possibility of sharing the experience of death between good friends and forming karmic bonds (*kechien* 結縁) with the dying person, since death does not belong to any particular master.

Controlling the Single Moment of Pain

To see how these philosophical ideas worked in practice, let us take a look at the typical story of good rebirth "How Sukeshige Achieved Rebirth [in Pure Land] due to the Single Invocation of Nenbutsu" (Miki 1976: 117–18), which can be found in *Hosshinshū*. This story also appears in *Goshūi ōjōden* and *Honchō shinshū ōjōden*. A robber shot Sukeshige with a bow. As he felt the arrow penetrate his back, he shouted out with all his might: "Namu amida butsu!" and passed away. His voice was so loud that it was heard in other villages. People gathered around and saw him sitting facing west with closed eyes. Later Sukeshige appeared in a dream to Jakuin, who had been his long-standing friend. In a dream, he was walking in the spacious field and found a dead body lying on the wayside. A large number of monks gathered around the deceased, saying: "The one who achieved good rebirth (*ōjōnin* 往生人) is here. Come, take a look!" When he stepped closer, he saw that it was his friend Sukeshige they were talking about.

Here we see an extreme version of unprepared death. Sukeshige's immediate reaction to the searing pain of the arrow entering his back was to call for the help of Amida. This immediate reaction was a sincere manifestation of his devotion to Amida. The single moment of pain was transformed to a single moment of contemplation focused on rebirth, which presents a perfect moment of transforming the human body into the body of a Buddha or Bodhisattva. In this case, crying for the help of Amida was deeply ingrained into the body of Sukeshige and activated during the moment of pain in his body, when he successfully formed the body-mind of the "one achieving good rebirth." Anyone reading this story would wonder whether his or her own reaction to the last moment of pain might be so favorable. It is no surprise that controlling pain is one of the most important issues discussed in the different stories of *Hosshinshū*.

The connection between final contemplation and one's ability to endure physical pain emerges as a central theme in tales of religious suicide through drowning, starving, and self-immolation. In these situations, both body and mind are truly engaged in the "contemplation of the elements," since the practitioner must deal with the extreme physical pain caused by fire,

water or a lack of nutrients in the body. A particularly interesting case, the discussion of which in *Hosshinshū* covers many important issues concerning one's last moment, is the "Rebirth through Starvation of the Visiting Monk of Shosha Mountain" (Miki 1976: 143). This narrative does not appear in any other setsuwa collection besides *Hosshinshū*, and it is often seen to expresses Ren'in's personal opinion on the matter. The subtitle of this story admonishes us: "Such practices should not be harshly criticized." It is a tale about a reciter of sūtras (*jikyōsha*) who appeared on the Shosha Mountain in Harima. He told an elder monk about his plans:

> I have deeply wished for rebirth in the Land of Bliss due to the correct contemplation at the moment of death (*rinjū-shōnen* 臨終正念), but this end is difficult to control and therefore I have decided to throw away this body at the time when deluded thoughts (*mōnen* 妄念) do not arise and body is not burdened with sickness. Making a torch of one's body and entering the sea seemed too extreme practices for me. Since they seemed too painful I decided to renounce food and pass away peacefully [due to starvation].

The elder monk visited the recluse when the last moment was already near. The recluse, keeping a vow of silence, wrote on the piece of paper, that he was already quite worried about whether he could truly make it, but that a young child appeared in a dream and poured water into his mouth, cooling his body. This strengthened his resolve and he was sure that he was about to succeed. The elder monk was not able to keep this a secret any more, since he wanted students to form a karmic bond (*kechien*) with this extraordinary man. He revealed the whereabouts of the recluse of Shosha Mountain to some people. Large crowds gathered—some to form a karmic bond, and some to drive away evil spirits by throwing rice at him. The recluse was certain that all of this commotion would interfere with his plans of rebirth and decided to sneak away. The crowds were looking for him, wondering where he had disappeared. About ten days later, they found him only about fifty meters away, hidden in the thick bushes growing there. He was holding a sutra and wearing a robe made of paper. "This was indeed extraordinary in this age of final days," says the author, clearly sympathizing with the actions of the protagonist.

This story is followed by a long discussion, where the author delves into a debate about whether or not the practices of suicide, where one tries to control the time and state of his departure, should be commended. Arguing for the legitimacy of suicide, the author points out that all Buddhist practices "ground themselves in inflicting pain on the body and breaking the soul." The path of the Bodhisattva is built on respecting the dharma and renouncing worldly pleasures. One should not look on this lightly, he argued. Shandao was sure to achieve rebirth in the Pure Land, but climbed a tree and threw himself down anyway (the veracity of this fact cited in *Hosshinshū* is doubtful). This was done to set an example for others. The practitioner, he stated, should think along the following lines (Miki 1976: 147–48):

> This body is my possession. It is like a dream—empty and decaying. One should not limit [sacrifice] to a single finger. I should throw my body and life into Buddha's path and the single moment of pain (*ichiji no kurushimi* 一時の苦しみ) relieves me of the suffering of beginningless transmigration and due to the help of Buddhas I will be able to face the right moment of contemplation at the time of death.

Even in this day and age, says the author, there are people who end their life this way and there are benevolent signs (such as a good smell or purple clouds) that testify that they truly achieved a good rebirth. The child appearing in the dream to the recluse of Shosha Mountain was also such a sign—people should take this seriously, and there is no benefit in doubting these practices. If you cannot achieve faith in your own mind, you should at least refrain from ruining the trusting heart (*shinjin* 信心) of others.

In reading this discussion, we see that the author clearly distinguishes bodily pain and mental suffering, but he discusses both in the context of facing the last moment of contemplation. The "single moment of pain" (*ichiji no kurushimi*) is clearly experienced with the whole body-mind of the human being. The word body (*mi* 身) is something that encompasses the whole psychophysical existence of a human being. One burns not only his body, but also renounces his status and everything that his body and mind is connected to. One should completely relinquish his personal identity in order to achieve a good rebirth.

The problem of the body and the sensations that the body produces during the final moments is something that the author returns to in many stories. One of these concerns the zen monk who was thinking about burning himself (Miki 1976: 137–38):

> The state of this body is such that many things do not go according to one's plans. Should one encounter terrible sickness which makes it impossible to think [straight] during one's end, it is extremely hard to fulfill one's original intention [of rebirth in Pure Land]. If one does not die at the time when one is free from sickness, the right contemplation at the final moment (*rinjū-shōnen*) remains unattainable.

At first, he decided to make a human torch (*shintō* 身燈) of himself, but since he was confident that pain and other sensations might disturb the moment of correct contemplation, he wanted to make sure that he could withstand the agony of burning. To test this, he used two metal hoes. He heated them up, put them under his armpits, and burns them "until the flesh is burned black and impossible to look at." He did not find it difficult to withstand the pain, but he still had second thoughts. Being a simple man, he was not sure what the final moments would really be like when they were actually at hand. Therefore, he chose to head for Fudaraku, where one can go to their destination in this very body on a boat. The author concludes: "Since his devotion … was not shallow, I am certain he most certainly arrived at his destination." Yanase Kazuo comments on this sentence, "It safe to say, that Chōmei sympathizes with him" (Yanase 1975: 216).

This sympathy for the suffering of others is felt in many stories that discuss physical discomfort in *Hosshinshū*. In the story of "*Nyūsui* of Rengejō," Ren'in cites a certain person (*aru hito* 或人), but Miki Sumito (1998: 154) sees this as the author speaking of his own experience:

> Some foolish people mistakenly say things like "making a human torch out of myself is too difficult, drowning should be much easier." This is because they look at the matter with outsiders' eyes and don't know what it really feels like. A certain *hijiri* once told me: "I was drowning and almost near death, when a person helped me and I survived. The agony I felt when the water entered my nostrils and mouth must have been even worse than the torments of hell. When people think drowning is easy, it's only because they don't know what it's like to commit suicide by drowning."

If the *hijiri* mentioned in this story is indeed Ren'in himself, we might imagine that, much in the same way as he made his "hands as servants and feet as conveyances" (see p. 94 earlier), he wanted to test his body and see how he could contemplate water entering nostrils and mouth. Nostrils, mouth, lungs, and other organs involved in drowning have their own habits of contracting and contemplating elements, which means that any idea that the person (master self) might have about the sensation of dying is nothing but delusion. Testing one's ability to withstand suffering, he argued, should be an important part of death-practice, because only through practice can one anticipate the nature of the last moment of contemplation. This is precisely because body and mind are not separate and one participates in dying with one's whole existence.

Contemplating the Emptiness

The last moment of contemplation was also seen as an opportunity to form karmic bonds (*kechien*), not only between people, Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, but also between different demonic beings. The karmic bond was such an influential idea precisely because in dying, the person was losing the "master" of his body-mind, he or she was losing the central identity that had kept the person nicely together in life. In dying, the content of contemplation defined both the body and the mind of the one who would be passing to the other shore.

This is why the role of a good friend (*zenchishiki*) was seen to be very important in deathbed practice. According to Genshin, the role of a good friend is to bring up the ten items of contemplation and not to allow any doubt to arise in the dying person's mind "at any single moment of contemplation" (Inoue and Ōsone 1974: 209). The purpose is not to let the sick person form a bond with anything else besides Amida-buddha. Genshin says to the "good friend," "Do not allow [other] objects of perception to arise in the mind of the sick" (Dobbins 1999: 175). This kind of cooperation can clearly be seen in the story "How a certain lady saw transformations of Māra during the final moments" (Miki 1976: 183). The version of this story

can also be seen in the eighth scroll of the nine-scroll version of *Hōbutsushū*. Since the story gives an excellent description of how contemplation works during deathbed practice, I will cite it here in full:

> A certain lady who was a daughter of a princess turned her back to the world. When she fell sick she felt that her end was near and called for a certain holy man (*hijiri*) to act as the her good friend. While repeating *nenbutsu* this woman turned blue and looked quite terrified. *Hijiri* thought this was suspicious and asked: "What is it that you see?" The Lady explained: "Some horrible people have descended in the fiery chariot to take me away!" *Hijiri* said, "Contemplate firmly the original vow of Amida Buddha and constantly voice his name without faltering. Even people who have committed five transgressions can be reborn in Land of Bliss should they meet the *zenchishiki* and repeat nenbutsu ten times. How much more so those who haven't committed any evil deeds like you." Lady acted like she was told and kept repeating *nenbutsu*. After a short while the looks of the lady changed and become very joyful indeed. *Hijiri* asked her again for the reason. She told him: "The fiery chariot vanished. Now a chariot adorned with diamonds has come to meet me and it is filled with numerous heavenly maidens playing music." *Hijiri* tells her: "You should not think about getting on that chariot. Just keep repeating *nenbutsu* like you have done until now and leave it to the Buddha to come and meet you." After some time woman says: "The chariot adorned with diamonds has vanished. Now there is only one monk in dark clothes who is calling out: 'Let us go together now! You do not know the path that leads forth from here. Let me be your companion and show you the way.'" *Hijiri* recommended: "Do not ever think you can go with him. You do not need a guide to go to the Land of Bliss. It is the land you reach on your own (*onozukara*) riding on the mercy of Buddha. Keep repeating *nenbutsu* and think about going alone." After a while the women said: "There is no monk nor any other person I can see anymore." *Hijiri* thought: "This is the opening (*hima*) through which you can pass swiftly to the Land of Bliss if you concentrate and repeat *nenbutsu* with all your resolve." After this, she said *nenbutsu* fifty or sixty times and passed away in the middle of saying the last one. This was surely how Māra tried to trick the lady by taking many different forms.

This story beautifully illustrates how a *zenchishiki* fulfills the role of the assistant sitting beside the dying person. Different visions show up, but the *zenchishiki* admonishes the woman not to be distracted by them. The desired state of mind is complete emptiness, where nothing can be seen: this is the "opening" (*hima* 隙) through which one passes to the other shore. The deathbed scene is where one's ability to reject the delusions and sensations that one's mind and body produce is ultimately tested. To put it in Deleuzian terms, in contemplating death, a possibility for different selves was presented—the horrible-being-self, the heavenly-maiden-self, and the dark-monk-self. If one becomes attached to any of these, the good rebirth is not accessible. The only correct "self" is

the "no-self" generated through the contemplation of an empty opening (*hima*) to the other side. Through contemplating the opening, one's own body would become the opening, as the passage states: "It is the land you reach on you own!" Even when someone meets Buddha in a vision, it would have to be rejected as yet another image for one to attach one's desires and hopes to.

This story resonates with the ending of *Hōjōki*, which also discusses the efficacy of *nenbutsu* as preparation for nearing death. As Yamada Shōzen said, Kamo no Chōmei feels that he remains an observer and is not really able to become involved in the practice of *nenbutsu*. This is why he says two or three *nenbutsu* and remains silent. During medieval times, ten *nenbutsu* was considered the absolute minimum for achieving good rebirth. This number is constantly repeated in different stories, including in the one cited above: "Even people who have committed five transgressions can be reborn in Land of Bliss should they meet the *zenchishiki* and repeat *nenbutsu* ten times." When we read this in the light of final passage of *Hōjōki*, it is clear that attachment to one's hut and other character flaws can easily be overcome if one will only wholeheartedly voice *nenbutsu* at least ten times during the moment of death. The actor of this setsuwa is extremely vigorous, repeating the *nenbutsu* fifty or sixty times until she loses her breath in the middle of saying the last one (*koe no uchi ni iki tae ni keri* 声のうちに息絶えにけり). All of her efforts were concentrated on squeezing herself through the empty opening (*hima*) to the other side. She falls silent not of her own volition, but because her voice is interrupted by transition to the other world. Her final moment of contemplation is both empty and voiceless. The last outbreath of a dying person is used for saying the last syllables of *nenbutsu* before she passes away.

If we read the last passages of *Hōjōki* as a practice for the approaching death, we can understand that *fushō no amida-butsu* might indeed be considered "useless" or "ineffectual" *nenbutsu*, because Ren'in imagines a deathbed scene as the real place where the true effect of one's *nenbutsu* is tested. At the moment of writing, the author is aware that this is nothing but writing-towards-death (to use the Heideggerian expression), which is unable to grasp the real experience of a true *nenbutsu* at the time of dying. The author is distanced from the text and thus the positions of two distinct voices inside the text—Buddhist practitioner Ren'in and Court-Poet Chōmei—become ambiguous. Chōmei might fail because he is attached to literature and music. Ren'in might fail because he is attached to the idea of the perfect moment of death without being able to overcome the physical suffering at the moment of voicing a final *nenbutsu*. He might be unable to approach death without any preconceptions. The author, who is the observer of these possible fates (the third Chōmei, as Yamada called him), is aware of the different possible selves, but does not yet know which one of these will be actualized during his last moments. Death appears as a final test, where his true self will be revealed.

Thus, we might read the words *fushō no amida-butsu* in the following sense: any *nenbutsu* except for the one you voice during your last breath, is useless. The last breath is the one that truly counts. The last breath opens the passage (*hima*) to the other shore. It is difficult to know whether one will be able to contemplate Amida "at the moment of pain," which might

liberate you but might also condemn you to the depths of hell. It is impossible to know whether one is able to "become dead" in the sense of accepting the no-self that actively contracts and contemplates emptiness.

The Rest Is Silence

It seems to me that using the word *yaminu* at the end of *Hōjōki* invokes many different senses of this potent word. First, it marks a place where both the narrator and the author fall silent. The character inside the story stops the *nenbutsu* and the author raises his brush, interrupting the story. Since Ren'in was so involved in the *ōjōden*-canon, rewriting many of the stories in his own collection, he was most certainly aware of the limits of autobiographical writing. It would indeed be nice if one could write the ending of one's own story, if one could finish with a description of successful *ōjō*, as in the story of a certain lady above, but one always reaches the outer limit of any act of self-writing[6]—the text is always destined to be open-ended. The ultimate meaning of one's life is not complete without an ending, but this can only be written by the next generation of biographers. Thus, the concrete author must rely on other powers in two senses: Amida must help him to the other shore during the last contemplation, and the subsequent storyteller must help him to finish the story.

The English translation by McCullough beautifully captures this by making *yaminu* a separate sentence: "Then I fall silent" (McCullough 1990: 392). This final sentence conjures the ghost of Hamlet voicing his final words: "… the rest is silence." Hamlet cannot continue talking; the play is about to end. However, when the play is staged, the actual sight of the dying character gives meaning to the silence that follows Hamlet's last words, "After all is said and done, the way in which Hamlet dies, whether in pain or with mockery, or with some sense of fortunate release, will still be manifest in his facial expression and in the manner in which his body lies on the stage" (Brown 1992: 29). The meaning of the play cannot be judged without seeing it on stage. Much in the same way, the author of *Hōjōki* was conscious that writing about practice does not bring oneself closer to practice unless the writing itself is seen as a kind of practice.

Anyone reading the *ōjōden* canon knows the meaning that is attached to the state of the body after death. The configuration of one's limbs and the expression one's face constitute the final signs to be read by those left behind. A calm face, hands in the position of mudra, and an upright position were all signs of a true *ōjōnin*. The body was seen to speak its own somatic language, which never lied. Unfortunately, the state of the body of the author of *Hōjōki* was never properly documented. Although he prepared for the final chapter to be written by his own body, this last transmission was never received, and thus the nature of his *ōjō* was unfortunately never verified. I am certain that this is not the kind of silence he had hoped for.

[6] The moment of death must always be described by somebody else and it is a task of the subsequent storyteller to give a complete account of a person's life (Arendt 1958, p. 193; see also Allik 2012).

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Medieval Buddhist Textuality: *Kyōgyōshinshō* as Literature

Laeticia Söderman

Introduction

One central issue that any student of classical Japanese culture encounters sooner or later in his studies is the dilemma of fresh perspective. When handling a subject matter that has been around, and often even studied, for hundreds of years already, how can a modern scholar avoid simply rehashing old questions and old answers? Is our fate, then, simply to either search for previously unfound texts and materials or to view old questions in the light of whatever cultural or literary theory happens to be in vogue? True, the former approach can be a veritable goldmine if one happens to be in right place at the right time and can get his hands on important documents that were previously unknown—as in the case of Buddhist historian Washio Kyōdō when he found Eshinni's letters in 1921 as he was conducting an inventory in the archives of Nishi Honganji temple in Kyoto. The latter approach also has its advantages, in that it can give us new and valuable insights into materials that have been studied and researched repeatedly. The problem, however, lies in the universal applicability of modern theories onto cultures that may or may not have worked according to similar standards. The implications of this latter question are far too deep and far-reaching for me to discuss here in detail, but I will be touching on this subject while discussing different ways of reading and how they can—and perhaps should—be applied to the study of Japanese Buddhism and classical Japanese culture as a whole.

However, this is why I found the topic of the symposium so interesting. How can we approach the subject matter of our research from a fresh and original angle that enables us to shed more light on the questions that interest us and thus make the objects of our interest more approachable? The process of rethinking and renewing is central to every scholar—otherwise the ideas become stagnant. Rethinking, however, for its own sake is not always beneficial. How then can we find relevant new angles while still keeping in touch with the classical nature of the source materials? In this article, I offer one view into how to view medieval Buddhist texts in the light of the general literary atmosphere of the time of their birth. After all, a text is a text, and if we are acting as readers in a textual world where no lines were drawn between literary and religious worlds from literature's point of view, why and how should we draw those lines when approaching the subject matter from the field of religion?

Navigation and Textual Signposts

The central question is deceptively simple: how should we read a text? If we are dealing with a medieval Japanese Buddhist text, how should we approach it so that we can say something meaningful about the text itself? What if we want to read *Kyōgyōshinshō* in order to understand Shinran's views on the question of faith? If I give the text to someone without any background in either Buddhism or medieval Japanese culture, for example a member of my family, he might well be able to read the words that have been written, gain some valuable insights for his life, and even get some sort of an idea about the nature of the Faith[1] that Shinran is so interested in. However, the scholarly value of such an assessment and reading of this text would be close to nothing if we wanted to understand Shinran's ideas of Faith. Why is this? Because we can see that a modern reader with no background knowledge on a subject matter this far from our everyday life simply will not have the ability to understand the text the same way that Shinran would have understood his own words. As I don't have a background in literary theory, I am using these words in their most common-sense meaning: "reader" is someone who at any given time reads a text, and "modern" in the sense of someone who is living in the modern world, not at the time that the texts in question were written or compiled. It is of course clear that every reader in every time has had their own lenses through which they look at the texts that they are reading. In my opinion, the interesting question is, how can we enable ourselves to approach a text so that our understanding of it comes as close as possible to the understanding of the writer or the original audience of the text?

Textual presupposition is a natural but unfortunate thing. Without us even noticing, our built-in models of relating to texts will set us on a certain route of reading and interpretation, and it is all too easy for us to overlook the signposts inherent in the text itself. This is less a problem when we encounter familiar texts, which we can interpret "correctly" by picking up either intuitively or consciously the familiar directions that these signposts give us. When we are presented with something unfamiliar—signposts that are written in a language with which we are unacquainted—the probability of missing the trail of the text suddenly increases, and it is all too easy to end up lost and confused in the middle of foreign territory.[2] In the field of the study of literature, the necessity of navigating the text using its own inherent guidance is

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[1] For the purposes of this paper, I will use the same term—Faith with a capital F—for both Shinran's terms *shin* 信 and *shinjin* 信心.

[2] Although there are no theories about East Asian textuality that could be used as they stand, there are two scholars who have touched on the subject from a point of view that helps to clarify the logic in Shinran's writing. François Jullien has written about the argumentative patterns of Chinese culture in his book *Detour and Access* (Jullien 2000), and Sarah Allen has traced the roots of the Chinese conceptual schemes and philosophical language in her *The Way of Water and Sprouts of Virtue* (Allen 1997). Both of these books address Chinese texts and Chinese culture, and as such need to be applied with some care. The similarities between Chinese and Japanese culture are, however, obvious, and the general lines behind these theories can also be applied to the Japanese notions of textuality. The general notions presented in these two works are also intriguing from the point of view of Japanese literature, and I feel that my project is not so much a progeny, but more like a fellow traveler on the same quest.

often taken as a self-evident. In order to understand, for instance, the literature of the Heian-Kamakura periods, one needs to understand, at least to some extent, the main currents of the culture that gave birth to those texts; in order to get the most out of reading this literature, it should be read following as closely as possible to the way that the original author would have read it.

This problem is not restricted to literature, but can be found in every field that has to do with reading and interpreting texts. In the study of Japanese Buddhism, we are also often encountered with texts that we need to try to make sense of in order to understand our own field better. In Buddhist studies, this often entails knowing the Buddhist tradition with the theories and doctrines behind it, so that, when reading a text, one knows from which tradition, which lineage, and which doctrinal background the writer comes. The understanding of the various, often philosophically loaded, terms and concepts is deemed necessary for the student of doctrinal texts, while those who are more oriented towards an anthropological approach tend to focus on the cultural and sociological aspects of the religion. Both groups also make use of the various theoretical angles that the mostly western academia has come up with, often adapting them to the non-western circumstances, but nonetheless tapping them for terms and approaches that will enable the research to be included as a part of the wider field of the study of religion or philosophies—whichever the researcher feels more a part of.

What then makes this approach particularly problematic when the object of study is the Buddhist texts of the Kamakura Period? Quite simply the same divide I have just made—the separation between literary and religious texts. The separateness between these two fields is an almost always undisputed assumption, especially when talking about doctrinal Buddhist texts. For Japanese texts that are associated in any way with Buddhism, what can be described as doctrinal texts are only researched for their religious contents and meanings, while their poetic qualities are overlooked. This might be due to the protestant text-based ideals that held sway when Buddhism was first "discovered" in western academia, coupled with the Christianity-based notions of the importance of doctrinal fidelity. As the sutras and other Buddhist texts were researched mainly for their philosophical value, the focus naturally came to rest on the contents of any given texts and not so much on the form in which they were written. This also caused the scholars to overlook and undervalue texts with evident misquotations or made-up source texts. However, Jacqueline Stone has shown in her book, *Original Enlightenment and the Transformation of Japanese Buddhism*, that this creative reading and handling of Buddhist texts was more the norm than an anomaly in the medieval Buddhist textual world. In the Tendai School, the official Chinese texts were already being subjected to breakdown and a form of a very serious wordplay called *kanjindoku* or Mind-Contemplation reading, in which a new type of commentary tradition was being formed. These commentaries were based on a type of inner understanding or inspiration, where new meanings could be read into existing texts. However, just as one would have to be well-versed in poetic classics to be able to partake in the poetic correspondences of the court, so also the monks would have to know the basic sutras and their commentaries by heart in

order to appreciate and understand the *kanjin* readings of any given text.[3] This is because the act of reading in classical Japanese is inseparable from the act of writing.

A common example from literature would be the allusive practices of court poetry. In order to convey one's feelings about a given situation, say the full moon of autumn, one would have to compose a poem on the subject. Even though a certain amount of freshness of expression would be appreciated, there were strict rules within which this would have to be achieved. In order to enable the audience to relate to the composer's feelings, he would have to allude to a pre-existing poem from the classics, and then give it a new twist. Newness of expression was not valued for its own sake, but only if it was done well enough in relation to the classical corpus of poetry. When someone excelled in this kind of wordplay, it heightened his status in the eyes of his peers and could even advance his position at court—not to mention the effect that it would have on potential love interests. Similarly, Jacqueline Stone notes, "… in the light of the playful character of many *kanjin*-style readings, it appears to have had the character of a game, albeit a deeply serious one. Players of this game would have sought to excel in establishing those readings and associations that would support their particular doctrinal stance."[4] So whereas the literarary game of poetry would be used as a means of gaining both political status and desirability as a mate, a similar game in the Buddhist setting would be used to gain status in doctrinal debates and to promote certain personal insights on Buddhist doctrines. Instead of regarding these wordplays as misunderstandings of certain texts, it needs to be remembered that they would have made sense to their audience only in the context of the wider canon. As Stone remarks: "To be effective, the *kanjin* mode of interpretation would have had depended on more conventional doctrinal studies. One must know doctrines and texts before one can rearrange and reinterpret them; traditional doctrinal study was thus necessary to acquire the resources with which the game of *kanjin*-style interpretation, so to speak, was played."[5]

Kyōgyōshinshō has long been regarded as a difficult-to-read work, in which Shinran is seemingly presenting a variety of sources that are important to his own interpretation of the Pure Land faith. The quotations he presents, however, are heavily modified, even to the extent of going against the meanings of the original Chinese and Japanese sources. This in turn has been seen either to testify to Shinran's bad command of Chinese and incompetence at compilation, or even as a willful misrepresentation of and irreverence toward his sources. However, if we look at the text without any preconceived notions of textual fidelity, and instead take the approach of the *kanjin*-style readings, then the text transforms from being an arbitrary and badly compiled bunch of sources into a careful construction that reflects Shinran's own personal understanding of Pure Land Buddhism and Amida's role in it. Given the literary background of the monks and the general tendency of personal interpretation of Buddhist texts in Medieval Japanese Buddhism, I would like to argue that, instead of continuing the tradition

3 Stone 1999, pp. 156–58.
4 Stone 1999, p. 167.
5 Stone 1999, p. 167.

of brushing over these "anomalies," it would be more constructive to shift our perception, read the texts without preconceived notions of what a Buddhist text should be like, and let the texts speak to us in a new, fresh manner. To rephrase William Bodiford in his Sōtō Zen in Medieval Japan slightly—rather than simply dismissing the practice as degenerate, one might more profitably investigate this hybrid formed by the Buddhist tradition and the Japanese tradition by asking: how do these two actually work together?[6]

It is clear, then, that we should approach *Kyōgyōshinshō* as a carefully constructed text written to an audience who would have been well versed enough in the Buddhist corpus that the changes and reinterpretations of the sources would have been both obvious and meaningful. The various changes made to the sources have been researched at length, so I would like to highlight another level of compilation that affects the reading of the text. This is the way that different passages are added into the argumentative stream of the text as a whole: understanding this might make it easier for us to grasp the general argumentative flow of the *Kyōgyōshinshō*. I will try to give some examples of how Shinran builds up an internal structure that directs the contents of his wide array of quotations, which can seem confusing at first glance. I would like to try and read Shinran's *Kyōgyōshinshō* as a literary text, and see how taking its textuality into account changes the way the text portrays itself.

Kyōgyōshinshō

Kyōgyōshinshō is undeniably Shinran's main doctrinal work, and lays out the theoretical basis for his religio-philosophical thought about his particular strand of Pure Land Buddhism. It consists mainly of quotations from both sutras and commentaries, with a few of Shinran's own comments interspersed in between. It is divided into six thematic chapters and two prefaces:

General Preface (総序)
1. Chapter on Teaching (教の巻)
2. Chapter on Practice (行の巻)
Additional Preface (別序)
3. Chapter on Faith (信の巻)
4. Chapter on Realization (証の巻)
5. Chapter on the True Buddha-lands (真仏土の巻)
6. Chapter on the Transformed Buddha-bodies and Lands (化身土の巻)

The chapters are of varying lengths: the first, which is also the shortest, is only a few pages long, and the last and longest chapter comprises almost a third of the whole work. This last chapter

[6] Original quote Bodiford 1993, p. 3.

is, however, divided into two parts roughly from the middle,[7] which leaves the Chapter on Faith as the longest single chapter, taking up slightly more than a quarter of the whole text. The prefaces are two pages long each.

The manuscript is undated, but according to graphological evidence, the Bandō manuscript, which was the only manuscript written by Shinran himself, was copied out around the mid-1230s, thus coinciding with Shinran's return to Kyoto after years of banishment in the Kantō area. It is possible that there were earlier versions of the same text, but no trace of them has been found. The date traditionally assigned to its assumed completion is the year 1247, when, according to postscripts in two later editions of the *Kyōgyōshinshō*, Shinran allowed his cousin and disciple Sonren (b. 1182) to make a copy of his work. It is clear that minor changes continued to be made to the text for some ten years after this date, but the act of granting permission for *Kyōgyōshinshō* to be copied has been seen as a sign that the text was more or less ready to be given out. While it is true that Shinran would probably not have given this permission had the text been "unfinished" in his eyes, I think that we might also question the whole notion whether or not *Kyōgyōshinshō* was something that was ever meant to be a complete, once-and-for-all finished, and systematic exposition of Buddhist philosophy. The Bandō manuscript is not a clean and ready copy of a thoroughly thought-out work, but more a personal working copy that was never finished, with words added, blotted over, and commented on.[8]

Aside from the chapter titles, there does not seem to be any visible structure to the text enforced by breaks in the text or subtitles, but each quotation and comment is separated as its own paragraph. As the manuscript itself does not break the text into smaller thematic units, most editions of the *Kyōgyōshinshō* have split the bulk of the text into smaller units, by dividing and numbering these paragraphs as passages. In the shorter chapters, this apparent lack of internal structure does not really matter, but in the longer and more argumentative chapters such as the Chapter on Faith, the result is that, without an understanding of the text's internal guideposts, its argument is easily drowned under the meandering of Shinran's style of writing.

However, even though the structural elements may not seem explicit to our unaccustomed eyes, they are in there. In addition, once the reader gets used to this meandering argumentative style, the work transforms from a disorderly jumble of quotations into a skillfully written text whose form is as much a part of the argument as its contents. The main target for my own research has been the Chapter on Faith, and that will be the source for all the examples in this paper. The same model does seem to be working throughout the whole text, though, so with some reservations I would claim that my findings in this particular chapter can be applied to

[7] This division is apparent in the Bandō manuscript, but is missing from both the Nishi Honganji manuscript and the Takada Senjūji manuscript. There are no separate titles for these two parts, so they are usually treated as one chapter, even though, on top of the visible break from the text itself, marked by an empty space between the two parts, there is a clear change of subject matter.

[8] See, for example, the difference between the Bandō manuscript and the other two main manuscripts, the Nishi Honganji manuscript and the Takada Senjūji manuscript on the picture pages in the beginning of Kakehashi 2004 and 2008.

the whole text. It is also interesting to note that this chapter seems to be structurally the most complex, with more subthemes and argumentative use of different combinations of passages than any of the other chapters of the *Kyōgyōshinshō*. As it is widely acknowledged that Shinran's relationship with the concept of Faith is the very thing that sets him apart from the other Pure Land proponents of the tradition, this is no surprise. To effectively back up the most personalized part of his doctrine, Shinran would of course need the most creative solutions for combining and re-writing extant texts. Further, as this aspect of his doctrine is what sets him apart, it is one of the very keys through which his other texts should be read.

Structural Elements in the Chapter on Faith

Just like the *Kyōgyōshinshō* in general, the Chapter on Faith is built out of modified quotations, with only some extra comments, such as introductions and further definitions, by Shinran. Even though the sources he uses are richly varied, and Shinran quotes from some twenty different texts, most of the text is made up from quotations from five different sources—three sūtras and two Chinese masters: *Muryōjukyō*[9] (Sk. *Sukhāvatīvyūha sūtra*, also known as *Daikyō*, or the Greater [Pure Land] Sūtra), *Muryōjunyorai-e*,[10] *Nehankyō*[11] (Sk. *Mahāparinirvāna sūtra*), Shan-Tao (Jp. Zendō), and Tan-Luan (Jp. Donran), respectively. The length of quotations also ranges from just a few lines up to several pages, the longest ones being more than ten pages long. These five quotations, in addition to Shinran's own comments on them, take up 84% of the total number of passages.[12]

Source	Number of passages/132	Percentage
Shinran	33/132	25%
Shan-Tao	28/132	21%
Daikyō	17/132	13%
Nyorai-e	13/132	10%
Nehankyō	12/132	9%
Tan-Luan	8/132	6%
Total	111/132	84%

In terms of the actual amount of text, this percentage would be even higher, since the length of the citations from the less-used sources tends to be only a few lines, with the exception

9 無量寿経 referred to from now on as *Daikyō*.

10 無量寿如来会 referred to from now on as *Nyorai-e*.

11 涅槃経.

12 Here, I have followed the division used in the *Shinran zenshū*, vol. 1, 1985, edited by Ishida Mizumaro (Shinran 1985).

of one citation from the *Kegonkyō*[13] (Sk. *Avatamsaka sūtra*), while there are several many-paged citations from both *Nehankyō* and Shan-Tao. As the other sources are mentioned often only once or twice, these five sources clearly stand out from the rest of them. These numbers do not show, however, that two of these sources have more than one role in the textual flow—instead of being purely informative, providing new information to back up Shinran's argument, they give structure to the text and steer the argumentative flow. Rather than adding to the contents, they create the relationships between separate parts of this long chapter, thus making it argumentatively efficient.

One of the most important structural strategies is the placement of passages from a pairing of *Daikyō* and its deviant translation, *Nyorai-e*.[14] When these sutras enter the text, it is always a sign that a new subtopic will start. This sutra passage also gives a slightly new direction to the preceding argument, taking it to a new level, but it rarely gives any "new" information as such—it seems to have more of an introductory function. If we take the appearance of the *Daikyō* as the equivalent of hitting "enter" on the keyboard—something that momentarily breaks the flow of the text and gives a sign that a new paragraph is starting, the previously mentioned Chapter on Faith ends up having nine parts, each beginning with a *Daikyō* quote, either by itself or, more often, paired with *Nyorai-e*.

After discovering these breaks, it is also instantly clear that every one of these "paragraphs" follows the same pattern in presenting the sources.

a. Introduction of the topic by Shinran
b. Quotes from *Daikyō* and *Nyorai-e*
c. Quotes from other sūtras
d. Quotes from the Indian Pure Land masters (Nagarjuna and Vasubandhu)
e. Quotes from the Chinese masters (Tan-Luan, Tao-Cho, and Shan-Tao)
f. Quotes from other Chinese teachers
g. Quotes from the Japanese Pure Land masters (Genshin and Hōnen)
h. Summary of the topic by Shinran

It is rare for all of these to be present in the same cycle, but the sources that are brought up are always presented in this order. As on occasion the summary of the previous topic acts also as the introductory part for the next topic, we get a very strongly cyclical structure that gives the long text momentum. The topics flow into one another, so that, even though the text goes through several topics, it forms one narrative flow from the start to the end of the Chapter on Faith. Thus, we can say that the Chapter on Faith is made up of nine cycles, and we already have a better grasp of the textual flow of this work.

[13] 華厳経.

[14] The *Nyorai-e* translation of the *Sukhāvatīvyūha* is never used alone, but always to "echo" the passage from the *Daikyō*. Shinran seems to read from both translations, and in some instances he clearly uses this unorthodox translation as the basis for his arguments on the nature of enlightenment.

There are also several instances where there are small breaks from the rough form inside the topical cycles, and they become more numerous as the text goes on. There is, however, regularity within the irregular cycles, too. It is important to note that not all of these cycles are equal as subchapters. By taking a closer look at how Shinran comments between passages and introducing the *Daikyō* quotes to the textual stream, we can see an even more elaborate structure emerging from the text.

Steering the Narrative Stream

On the one hand, every one of these cycles forms an individual treatment of one particular topic and as such is complete. On the other hand, however, the cycles are linked to each other on several levels. I feel that a systematic analysis of the ways in which Shinran links passages and cycles throughout the *Kyōgyōshinshō* would present one answer to those researchers who claim that Shinran gives quotations "with no interpretation whatsoever or with overly terse and enigmatic comments." Even though I disagree with the whole notion of dividing *Kyōgyōshinshō* into Shinran's writing and quotations from outside sources—thus making an issue of what did he write himself and what he just copied—there are short but extremely meaningful passages that were definitely added by Shinran, which can help us to understand the *Kyōgyōshinshō* as a narrative whole and not just as a patchwork of quotations with some enigmatic comments thrown in at intervals. These introductory pieces also create an inner hierarchy between the cycles, making the relationships between them clear for the reader. There are two major ways that these links between the cycles are forged: by theoretical associations and by wordings.

One way of implying connections between cycles is the net of associations between theories that consist of several parts, such as the various Three Minds theories. Just by associating one cycle with one part of such a theory, that is, the third cycle with "the self[15] of joyous Faith," the unsaid assumption is that the two other parts of the system, "the attained self" and "the self-yearning for birth," will come up somewhere, and that there will be some kind of relationship between the third cycle and whatever these two parts relate to. After all,

[15] A note on the translation of 心 as "self": The problem here is of course obvious, as Buddhism is the schoolbook example of a philosophy on non-self or selflessness. The reason for this audacious behavior is still, I think, well-founded. I use this method of translation only when Shinran is the speaker, and so I have decided to leave Shan-Tao's theory of the threefold mind as "mind," even though the character used is the same. This is also the reason that Vasubandhu's theory remains as "single mind." However, I do not feel that "mind" or "heart" reflects clearly enough the holistic way in which Shinran thinks. "Mind" represents the division of the bodily and the mental, and using "heart" would place the emotional aside from everything else, while the experience of *shinjin* that Shinran is talking about very much denies any division between these three aspects. The joyous Faith and the yearning for birth are more than just emotions, and certainly not mental processes! The aspects that Shinran talks about are all parts of our selves, parts that every living creature has in them, and as such the word "self," without a capital letter, without any specific philosophical or Buddhist connotations, would seem the best way of translating something that is closer to the Japanese *kokoro* than the Chinese abstract 心.

the East Asian hermeneutic method it is not about tearing a system into its constituent parts, but about building nets of meanings by rewriting and transforming existing systems. These associations with the Three Minds theories bind together the second, third, and fourth cycles in this chapter. All of these cycles are distinct from one another, as is made clear by both structural and topical elements, but at the same time they present a continuous unfolding of arguments that essentially focus on one subject—the correct interpretation of Shan-Tao's theory. Thus, the Chapter on Faith could also be divided into three parts: the introductory cycle, the treatment of Shan-Tao's theory of Three Minds, which takes up cycles two, three, and four, and the final cycle, which takes the modified Three Minds theory up one notch and concludes the first thematic half of the chapter.

Another level of linking is obviously the use of short rhetorical devices, such as *kore o motte*, which tie new passages to the argumentative stream, and their parallelisms. These should definitely not be overlooked when deciphering the overall picture of the argumentative flow in both the Chapter on Faith and the *Kyōgyōshinshō* as a whole.

The passages inside a cycle are almost always introduced by a simple "*XX ni iwaku*" or "*XX ni notamawaku*" ("it is said in XX"). The two major exceptions to this rule are Shinran's own comments and the *Daikyō* quotations that open each of the cycles. To give one example of how this structure works, starting from the very beginning of the Chapter on Faith, the first comment by Shinran begins with the following phrase:

> Passage 1: "Humbly I declare that the Great Faith is in the grasping of the directing virtue of going forth to the Pure Land. The Great Faith is …" (KGSS: 96)[16]

This in itself ties the entire Chapter on Faith to the procession of themes in the *Kyōgyōshinshō* as a whole, and especially to the chapter that preceded it, the Chapter on Practice, which starts with a very similar phrase:

> "Humbly I declare that [both] the Great Practice and the Great Faith are in the grasping of the directing virtue of going forth to the Pure Land. The Great Practice is …" (KGSS: 17)[17]

Based on this parallelism, one could say that the Chapter on Practice and the Chapter on Faith are simply two sides of the same thing: grasping the directing virtue of going forth to the Pure Land. Thus, when read from this angle, the following discussion is already associated with the "Faith" part of the directing virtue of going forth to the Pure Land. Another factor that reinforces this link is the first sutra couplets—they are slightly modified versions of the first passages of the Chapter on Practice (KGSS: 17–18, 97). The Chapter on Faith can only start

[16] 謹テ往相ノ回向ヲ按スルニ大信有リ大信心者…

[17] 謹テ往相ノ回向ヲ按スルニ大行有リ大信有リ大行者…

to build themes when this link with the previous materials has been forged. Without going any deeper into the placement or relationship of Chapter on Faith vis-à-vis the other chapters of *Kyōgyōshinshō*, I would like to point out that the same macrostructure of semi-independent topical cycles that occurs in the Chapter on Faith is also repeated on the level of the whole work—the text is constructed in such a way that the same configuration of parts is repeated on different scales.

The sutras follow this. The first sutra quotation, the one that was also used in the Chapter on Practice, is given as the "description" of Amida's Vow. The second sutra quotation, on top of which Shinran starts to build his argument on Faith, is defined as applying the fulfillment of this Vow. Therefore, it will be clear from this point onwards that Faith is not simply one facet of the directing virtue of going forth to the Pure Land. Instead, Shinran's Faith is the very fulfillment of the Vow that Amida made. The rest of the passages are introduced by simple "it is said in XX" phrases, so the next passage that adds something to this procession is Shinran's conclusive comment on the first cycle, which begins with *shikareba*—"hence" (KGSS: 115). This draws the first cycle to an end, emphasized by ending the same passage with *shirubeshi*, "one needs to know this" (KGSS: 115).

A small detour follows in the form of a question and answer section, after which the second cycle starts by introducing the first part of Shan-Tao's Three Minds theory, "the attained self," to the thematic field:

> Passage 24: "… This attained self is the embodiment of nothing else than the attainment of the potency of the Name." (KGSS: 117)[18]

The sutra passages then start with a *kore o motte* ("therefore"). As the previous phrase is not separated as its own passage, but is instead just the last phrase of a longer section, the *kore o motte* ties what follows not only to the previous phrase, but to the whole question and answer section. It is also interesting that, unlike all of the other cycles in this first half of the text, the sutra passages of this second cycle bring new themes to the mix instead of simply transforming and playing with the old themes and passages. A comment from Shan-Tao follows, after which Shinran concludes the cycle with a comment that begins with *shikareba* or "hence," just as with the last cycle, and concludes with "this is called attained self" (KGSS: 119),[19] implying that the previous passages have now defined the first part of the Three Minds in a way that will operate throughout the Chapter on Faith.

The result of taking these internal argumentative guideposts into consideration is that we can produce the following table of contents for the Chapter on Faith:

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[18] 斯ノ至心ハ則是至徳ノ尊号ヲ其ノ体トセル也.

[19] 是ヲ至心ト名ク.

1. The description of Faith
    1.1 Introduction (First cycle)
    1.2 The Threefold Mind Theory
        1.2.1 Introductory Question and Answer
        1.2.2 Attained Self (Second cycle)
        1.2.3 Joyous Faith (Third cycle)
        1.2.4 Yearning for Birth (Fourth cycle)
    1.3 Faith as Enlightening Self (the part between the Fourth and Fifth cycles)
2. The true nature of Faith (Fifth cycle)
    Appendix A:
        Commentary on passage 56 and the dimension of transcending (Sixth cycle)
        Commentary on passage 56 and the dimension of cutting off (Seventh cycle)
        Commentary on being a true disciple of Buddha (Eighth cycle)
        Commentary on the point of no return (Ninth cycle)
    Appendix B: On the problem of difficult salvation

This is the purely structural side of the textuality in the Chapter on Faith. Another side of the coin is the shifting and flowing of the terms used, so that the result of the chapter is the conclusion that the moment of the fulfillment of Faith is the same as the moment of enlightenment. Without analyzing and considering these textual aspects, however, the argumentative stream seems difficult if not impossible to grasp, and the argument is drowned by the meanderings of the narrative.

The Call for Textuality Studies

In this paper, I wanted to give one new perspective on Buddhist research, namely that when we are studying the texts we need to reach to a deeper level than simply that of the message. This is not, however, a completely new idea. Kaneko Daiei evokes the need for literary studies of *Kyōgyōshinshō*[20] in his book *Kyōgyōshinshō sōsetsu* (1964): in his words, literary studies on this work did not exist at all. He laments the fact that *Kyōgyōshinshō* has become a work that seems hard to understand and uninviting to read, and points out that one reason for this is that we don't know how to read it, even though the keys for decoding it are present in the very text itself. He suggests that one should become "intimate" with the text by reading *Kyōgyōshinshō* out loud, since that way the reader does not have time to get stuck on all the difficult words and concepts in the text. He also argues that, instead of opening up the theoretical terms, more research should be centered on the words that describe the causal relationships between

[20] Literally, "research of *Kyōgyōshinshō* as 'writing' or even 'sentences'" (「文章としての『教行信証』の研究」).

terms and passages in the text, such as "because of this,"[21] the expression instead of the words. This would enable the reader of the text to begin by attaining a more general feeling of the text and the relationships between different parts of the text. The theoretical deepening of the text should only arrive in the reader's mind once he has become acquainted with the text.[22]

The object of Kaneko's quest was to find the feelings behind the words and, as such, his objective is slightly different from mine. However, I still agree with his arguments about the importance of not only exegetic, but also textual and literary studies of *Kyōgyōshinshō*. Even though Kaneko made his comments in the mid-sixties, I have not come across any studies addressing this particular subject, nor have the professors or academics of Shinran studies with whom I have been in touch mentioned any research related to it. Therefore, it seems that, even though those who read and re-read *Kyōgyōshinshō* in the course of their research probably have an intuitive knowledge of this subject, actual existing research in this area is either non-existent or a very minor and not recent phenomenon in the field—and is thus largely unknown. I feel that the field of Buddhist studies as a whole would be enriched by such an angle, and that it should definitely not be neglected if we are to properly understand Shinran and Medieval Pure Land Buddhism as a whole.

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[21] そのゆえは.

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スパイラルなクロニクル
——説話文学研究と 1950 年代の視覚文化

Spiral Chronicles:
Rethinking *Setsuwa Bungaku* (Narrative Literature) Studies and Visual Cultures in the 1950s

荒木　浩
Araki Hiroshi

1951・52 年〜 63 年というエポック

1952 年 9 月、「総天然色」（technicolor）の映画『風と共に去りぬ（Gone with the Wind）』が、日本で公開された。アメリカでは、39 年に封切りされている。戦争を挟んで、13 年も経た後のことであった。

> 映画「風と共に去りぬ」（1939 年）は太平洋戦争前にアメリカで封切られ、戦後、1952 年になって、ようやく日本で封切られた。戦前の日本の大新聞を見ると、主演が赤毛のスーザン・ヘイワードに決まりそうだとか、ドルがないので輸入できないとか騒いでいる。

このように回想する小林信彦は、その「〈騒ぎ〉はアメリカとの戦争が始まっても、ひそかに持ち越され」、上海、シンガポール、マニラなどの外地で、軍人を中心とする日本人がこの映画を観ていたと述べる。その中には徳川夢声や小津安二郎もいて、アメリカの国力を見せつけられて大きな衝撃を受けたという。海軍がマニラで没収したこの映画のフィルムは、内地へ運ばれて、日本でも上映された。その一つの場が東京帝国大学であり、観客の一人に、後のノーベル物理学賞受賞者・江崎玲於奈がいたという。そうしたいくつかの興味深いエピソードが、小林のエッセイには紹介されている[1]。

その中で小林は、徳川や小津が受けたインパクトには、「〈総天然色映画〉へのあこがれもかなりあったと思う」と付言している。作品の卓抜さはいうまでもないことだが、なにより「南北戦争の動乱を生き抜くスカーレット・オハラの姿を、空前の壮大なスケールと華麗な色彩で描いた『風と共に去りぬ』は、いま観たって、七十何年も前にあれだけの

[1] 小林信彦『映画×東京とっておき雑学ノート　本音を申せば④』所収「映画をどうえらぶか？」「〈劣化〉した国に生きる」（初出 2007 年、単行本は 2008 年刊。引用は 2011 年刊の文春文庫版）。

カラー撮影を実現した科学の力と技術水準の高さに、驚嘆を禁じ得ないくらいだから」[2]、当時の人々が驚くのも無理はない。戦後の日本人にとっても、それは依然、画期的な立体的映像世界を誇る、70 ミリテクニカラーの迫力であった。

しかし日本でも、『風と共に去りぬ』のアメリカでの封切り以前から、天然色映画実現の試みと技術革新は、地道に推進されてきた[3]。その象徴的結実が、『風と共に去りぬ』公開前年の 1951 年 3 月に、日本初のカラー長編映画と喧伝して封切られた[4]『カルメン故郷に帰る』(松竹)である[5]。長部日出雄によれば、その技術は、テクニカラーの「三色式」に対して、「発色式」を日本独自に開発・改良した方式であるらしく、富士フイルムが 1950 年に、「国産カラーによる最初の長編劇映画」の制作について、「日本映画監督協会に協力を求め」、相当の苦労を重ねて、『カルメン故郷に帰る』が実現する[6]。当時の日本のカラー技術には多くの制約があった。もしもの時の保険として、モノクローム版の撮影も行われ、むしろそちらの方が出来が良かったという裏話も伝えられている[7]。

『カルメン故郷に帰る』という映画に対する評価は、カラー映画としての出来具合に集中する。参照すべきは、「勿論テクニカラアに及ぶべくもないが、今日までわが国に上映されたシネ・カラアよりはずっといい。現在の段階で、これだけ出来れば、労を多としなければならない」、「日本の映画界にもやっと長編色彩版劇映画が生まれたということで、一種の感動さえ覚える」、「ともかく私たち自身の色彩映画を持つことができるようになったのがうれしい」などと述べた、著名な映画評論家、双葉十三郎の批評である[8]。「やっと」「生まれた」長編カラー映画を悦び、「現在の段階」の「出来」について、「一種の感動さえ覚える」と率直に言及する様子は、よちよち歩きを始めた、本邦初という自前のカラー映画に対する慈愛に溢れている。それ故に、翌年に「ようやく」公開された『風と共に去りぬ』の観衆は、改めて、彼我のカラー映画に対する圧倒的な差異の認識を突きつけられた。描かれたアトランタの戦火の生々しさは、海軍が日本へこのフィルムを持ってくるモチベーションともなったと推測されているが[9]、13 年の時を遡って、戦時の記憶をもまた、ありありと呼び覚ましたことだろう。

一方で、画家の宮本三郎が『カルメン故郷に帰る』を評して、「素朴な出来ではありますけれども・・・絵でいえばナチュラリズム――自然主義の時代に属する色彩効果だと思います。主として自然の色を模倣する、自然の美しさを色彩的に生かそうとする意図が現れております。それが偶然といってはおかしいですが、日本の自然をわりと素直

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2 長部日出雄『新編天才監督木下惠介』第八章「日本最初の総天然色映画」(論創社、2013 年)。同論には戦後初公開のテクニカラー映画『ステート・フェア』(アメリカ、1945 年) に始まる戦後のカラー映画受容史が同時代的に語られている。

3 冨田美香「総天然色映画の超克――イーストマン・カラーから『大映カラー』への力学」(ミツヨ・ワダ・マルシアーノ編著『「戦後」日本映画論　一九五〇年代を読む』青弓社、2012 年) 参照。

4 当時のポスターには、「大松竹の壮挙！日本最初の總天然色映画」と謳われる。

5 現在では、美しくデジタル加工されたバージョンを観ることができるので、印象は異なる。2013 年、NHK BS プレミアムで放送された。

6 前掲長部日出雄『新編天才監督木下惠介』第八章。

7 長部日出雄前掲書、同章。

8 同上。出典は『キネマ旬報』。

9 小林信彦前掲書参照。

に出しているということです[10]」と、日本の自然と色彩観に触れていることは、本稿の以下の議論と関わって興味深い。もともと画家志望で、色彩感覚も鋭敏だった黒澤明が、ずっと白黒映画を撮り続け、ようやくパートカラーの作品を発表したのが、1963 年の『天国と地獄』であったことも、併せ思い起こしておきたい。

というのは、いささか唐突な物言いになるが、カラー映像の映画について、いま見た年表は、日本の説話文学の研究史を述べようという本稿にとって、物理的にも象徴的にも重要な意味を持つからである。1951 年、そして続く 1952 年〜 1963 年あたりの時間に、説話文学は絵巻と密接に連関して考察された。そして映画もまた、絵巻のアナロジーとして、人々の心を捉えようとしていたのである。

映画と絵巻のアナロジー

『風と共に去りぬ』という映画は、時代絵巻、人間絵巻などと評されることもあった。一方で、50 年代から 60 年代には、日本でも『大江戸風雲絵巻　天の眼』（松竹、1957 年）や『大奥絵巻』（東映、1968 年）などという、「絵巻」を題名の一部とする映画も生まれている。

たとえば映画データベース「allcinema」（http://www.allcinema.net/prog/index2.php）に「絵巻」のキーワードを入れて検索すると、次のような作品が列挙される。年代順に整理して引用してみよう。

1955　応仁絵巻　吉野の盗族
1957　大江戸風雲絵巻　天の眼
1968　大奥絵巻
1972　晴姿おんな絵巻
1976　徳川女刑罰絵巻　牛裂きの刑
1977　好色源平絵巻
1977–78 まんが日本絵巻〈TV〉
1986　韓国乱熟絵巻／新・赤いさくらんぼ（韓国、劇場未公開）
1989　変幻退魔夜行　カルラ舞う！　奈良怨霊絵巻
1993　取立屋本舗ベビィ　闇金絵巻〈オリジナルビデオ〉
1994　女淫地獄絵巻（香港、劇場未公開）
1995　卍舞 2　妖艶三女濡れ絵巻
1996　大江戸淫乱絵巻　色欲乱れ舞〈オリジナルビデオ〉
1996　大江戸淫乱絵巻　敵討篇〈オリジナルビデオ〉
1996　大江戸淫乱絵巻　復讐篇〈オリジナルビデオ〉
1997　江戸城大奥綺譚　大淫乱蕩絵巻〈オリジナルビデオ〉

[10] 長部日出雄前掲書、同章による。出典は『キネマ旬報』の対談。

1998　続・女淫地獄絵巻（香港、劇場未公開）
2001　泥蜘蛛草子絵巻〈オリジナルビデオ〉
2009　緋音町怪絵巻〈オリジナルビデオ〉
2011　フェイク　京都美術事件絵巻〈TV〉

ここには、「エロティック」と分類される映画が多く含まれる。そうした通俗性を見ても、50 年代から現代に至るまで、そして香港映画や韓国映画も含めて、「絵巻」という名称で流通する映画のタイトルの定着を確認することができるだろう。

絵巻の方も、映画とは親和的だ。絵巻を「手の中の映画」というたとえで表現することがある[11]。それは、手の中で繰り延べて展開される絵画の動的世界が、映画によく似ていることからの譬喩である。スタジオジブリの高畑勲というアニメーターは、12 世紀以前に日本で活発に展開した絵巻という形式と芸術が画期的であることを論じて、絵巻を「時間的視覚芸術」とたとえ、「現実感のある映像を時間とともに繰り展げて、物語をありありと語っていく芸術」であると語り、絵巻を映画やアニメーションの原点とみる。実作者からの指摘として重要であろう[12]。

カラーであること／カラーではないこと（to be colored or not to be colored）

カラーの衝撃、ということを述べた。その一方で、日本の文化、とりわけ古典文学には、抽象的な色彩表現が乏しい、といわれることがある。佐竹昭広は、この問題をめぐって、日本古代語の色名に即した、優れた言語学的考察を行っている。

佐竹に拠れば、「上代の日本語の中で、純粋に色名という名を付して挙げることができる語は」、「アカ、シロ、アヲ、クロの四色」であり、「古代日本語は、純粋な本来の色名に非常に恵まれない言語であった」。「ホメロスの言語的風景が究極的に無色であると言われるならば、古代日本語も色彩的には至って殺風景であったと言えよう。在るのは『赤』『黒』『白』『青』という色彩なのではなく、『明（アカ）―暗（クロ）』『顕（シロ）―漠（アオ）』という光の二系列であるに過ぎない」という。「古代日本語における色名の性格」と名付けられたこの画期的論考は、50 年代前半に構想され、1955 年に発表された[13]。このことも、これまで見た年次表に組み込んでおきたい。

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[11]「時間の進行とともに画面に場面の転換、展開を見せるものは、現代にあっては映画の映像がそれである。……絵巻物が一定の枠の中で画面を流動展開させているのと、映画がスクリーンという枠の中で画面を展開させていることには共通したものがある。絵巻物は鑑賞者自身が手で操作するのに対し、映画は機械が操作するという違いはあるが、どちらも絵（画面）を動かすという点では一致している。そして画面の側からすれば、どちらも画面自身が流動してストーリーを運ぶという点で両者は一致している。こうした絵巻物の性格をとらえて、「手の中の映画」とよんだひとがあるが、まことに肯ける表現だと思う」（奥平英雄『絵巻物再見』角川書店、1987 年）など。

[12] 高畑勲「説話絵巻　スピード感あふれる展開」（『週刊朝日百科　世界の文学』083、2001 年 2 月）。

[13]『国語国文』24–6、1955 年。その後、佐竹『萬葉集抜書』（岩波書店、1980 年）に掲載。佐竹によれば、古代語の色名の乏しさに着目した嚆矢は、チェンバレンの英訳『古事記』（1883 年）であるという（佐竹昭広『古語雑談』岩波新書、1986 年）。

一方、民俗学者の柳田國男（1875–1962）に、日本人の色彩観をめぐる重要な分析がある。柳田は、『明治大正史世相篇』（1930 年）の中で、日本の自然が、「緑の山々の四時のうつろい、空と海との宵暁（よいあかつき）の色の変化に至っては、水と日の光に恵まれた島国だけに、また類もなく美しく細かくかつ鮮やかであった」という。それに対して、言葉の面では、「元来はなはだしく色の種類に貧しい国であったといわれて居る」と指摘する。ただし、柳田は、そのことを否定的には捉えない。それは、「われわれの祖先の色彩に対する感覚が、つとに非常に鋭敏であった結果」ではないか。「つまりわれわれは色に貧しかったというよりも、強いて富もうとしなかった形跡がある」、「われわれは色彩の多種多様ということに、最初から決して無識であったのではなく、かえってこれを知ることがあまりに痛切なるために、忌みてその最も鮮明なるものを避けていた時代があったのである」と解釈して、独自の日本人論を展開するのである。

これは、先に引用した、『カルメン故郷に帰る』についての宮本三郎のコメント――「絵でいえばナチュラリズム――自然主義の時代に属する色彩効果」であり、「主として自然の色を模倣する、自然の美しさを色彩的に生かそうとする意図が現れて」、「日本の自然をわりと素直に出している」――を想起させて興味深い。

絵巻物も、複製本として流通するには、技術や価格上の問題があり、映画と同様に、かつては白黒写真で紹介され、鑑賞され、分析されることが通常だった。本格的なフルカラーの絵巻全集が刊行されるのは、中央公論社の『日本絵巻大成』（1977 年～）を待たなければならない。

そのころ、古代・中世の絵巻の内容は、『源氏物語絵巻』に代表される、静的な物語絵巻と、『信貴山縁起絵巻』に代表される、動的な説話絵巻とに大別されて、分析されることが通例であった。人物の躍動や表情など絵巻の魅力が、モノクロームでもはっきりとうかがえるのは、説話絵巻の方である。カラーではなく白黒で伝達することで、色彩ではなく、線描性が浮き彫りにされ、むしろ輪郭がくっきりと動的に表現される説話絵巻に、注目が集まった。それが戦後の 50 年代の状況である。

映画やアニメーションなどとの類似性が明確なのも、この説話絵巻というジャンルである。アニメーターの高畑が注目したのも、その代表である『信貴山縁起絵巻』や『伴大納言絵巻』であった[14]。

50 年代の研究成果を展開した武者小路穣『絵巻　プレパラートにのせた中世』（美術出版社、1963 年）には、線描的に描き取られた説話絵巻にうかがえる、戦後的な時代状況を投影した民族と民衆のエネルギー、そしてその躍動やリアリズムが強調されている。

> 説話文学という、庶民のクチガタリのエネルギーにささえられて、とりあげるぶたいのおしひろげられた、あたらしい文学を主題としたときに、絵画の構成は、当然それまでの物語絵のせまい世界をぬけだして、はげしいうごきとひろい空間性とをもりこむことができるものでなければならなくなります。・・・描法も、倭絵のつくりあげたゆたかな色彩感にたすけられながら、そこにひろげられた空間と、画面の

[14] 高畑勲『十二世紀のアニメーション――国宝絵巻物に見る映画的・アニメ的なるもの』（徳間書店、1999 年）参照。

> うつりを反映したいきおいのある描線を表面におしだしていきます。このいわば唐絵的な墨がきの線は、倭絵をえがくばあいにも、適確な描写をするために専門絵師のあいだではまなばれていたもので、仏教図像や世俗画には部分的にみえていたものですが、ここでふたたびおおきな位置をしめるようになります。絵画の主題と構成・色彩と描線とが、こうして説話のいきいきとしたはこびにふさわしい、みごとなつりあいをとって展開してきます。（下線は引用者）

こうして武者小路が取り上げるのは、『信貴山縁起絵巻』『伴大納言絵巻』『鳥獣戯画』など、「12 世紀もおそらく後半にうまれた日本美術の傑作」とされる絵巻である。武者小路は、作品の力の根底に、クチガタリ（oral tradition の謂だろう）の説話があるといい、その意義を認めて、これらの特徴を、「説話性」とまとめている（前掲書）。

絵巻研究において「説話性」の意義が見いだされたのはいつだろうか？ 武者小路は、中井宗太郎の「信貴山縁起絵巻の一考察――人民リアリズムのあけぼの」（『歴史評論』1951 年 3 月）という論文に注目する。この論文は、「変革期の迫真性のある芸術が、変革のためのはげしいたたかいをつづける民衆のエネルギーにあしばをおくことなしには成立しない、という、きわめてただしい、しかもそのくせこれまでの美術史ではみおとされがちだった大前提を、『信貴山縁起絵巻』についてズバリと指摘」したものだと武者小路はいう（前掲『絵巻』）。刊行年時に注目したい。ふたたび 1951 年という前史が確認できるだろう。

益田勝実（1923-2010）の画期的研究――「説話文学」と「絵巻」

武者小路絵巻論の重要な前提に、益田勝実『説話文学と絵巻』（三一書房、1960 年）という歴史的な研究書がある。益田は、説話と絵巻を、文字通り方法論として結びつけ、それを「文学」研究の範疇で論じていく。

この書は、戦後の日本古典文学研究において、説話と文学の結びつきをめぐる議論の原点となった書物である。武者小路は、この書に対して、書評も行っている。そこでは、本書が説話伝承を文学の視点から捉えた画期的な論であり、「民族文化の再評価論以来、むかしの国文学界では軽視されていた説話文学が脚光をあびるようになったものの、一方では、神話・伝説・昔話などがゴッチャにされたり、説話と説話文学をわけて考えてみようともしない粗雑なあつかい方が横行している」研究動向の中で、「具体的な史実考証をふまえながら、どんなハナシが説話としての生命をもつかを、貴族社会と民衆社会とのそれぞれについてあきらかにしている」、「これだけいきいきとして、説話と文学の『出会い』をうきぼりにすることで、『人間および人間性の問題を、複雑な構造においてつかもうとする』文学としての位置が、はじめてハッキリしたのではないかとおもう」（『日本読書新聞』1960 年 5 月 2 日）などと、その意義を論じている[15]。

この時代に、益田が提示した「説話文学と絵巻」というテーマ設定と、その「文学」的

[15] 鈴木日出男「解説」『益田勝実の仕事 1』（ちくま学芸文庫、2006 年）参照。

分析は、絵巻物研究の中で、きわめて斬新なものであった。『説話文学と絵巻』という書物自体の完成・刊行は 1960 年初頭だが、その内容は、1953 ～ 59 年までの論文を中心に書き下ろされたものである。

説話と文学との出会い

『説話文学と絵巻』という本が与えた研究史上の影響は多方面にわたるが、最もよく知られた重要なことは、「説話文学」についての定義である。益田は、〈口承と文字との出会い〉、ということを言う。

> 説話文学は説話そのものではない。説話は口承の文学の一領域である。また、説話文学は、しばしば誤解されているように、その説話を文字に定着させたものでも、説話が語る内容を素材として文字で書いた文学でもない。過渡的にはそう見える現象を含みつつも、本質的にはそれとも違う独自なものである。一口にいえば、それは、口承の文字である説話と文字の文学との出会いの文学である。それぞれに異る点を持つ二つの文学の方法が、助けあったり、たたかいあったりしてできる、文字による文学の特別な一領域である。（中略）説話文学の・・・もっとも大きな特色は、人間および人間性の問題を、複雑な構造においてつかもうとする点である。（『説話文学と絵巻』[16]、下線は引用者）

今日でも、この「説話文学」の定義は、定説的なものとしてしばしば引用される。それは、1950 年代に形成されてまとめられたものだったのである。

益田の議論の前提には、第二次世界大戦中の日本文学研究（国文学）への反省と戦後の解放があり、1952 年の占領体制の終了を挟んで変動する、戦後の政治と時代状況がある[17]。益田勝実自身が、みずからの戦争体験と帰還後の政治的社会活動を通じて、戦後社会を真摯に受け止めた人物であった。

この論にもまた、1951 年の前史がある。西郷信綱の研究である。

1951 年 10 月、益田の 7 歳年上に当たる西郷信綱（1916–2008）は、文学研究を「戦争によってもっともひどく破壊された学問」と称し、新しい『日本古代文學史』を構想して刊行した（岩波全書）。これは、時代を刻印するできごとであったが、それは、この本の発生にとどまらない。西郷は 60 年代に入って、1963 年 4 月に、この書を全面的に書き

[16] この問題については、荒木浩「メディアとしての文字と説話文学史――矜恃する和語」（説話文学会編『説話から世界をどう解き明かすのか　説話文学会設立 50 周年記念シンポジウム［日本・韓国］の記録』笠間書院、2013 年 7 月）で別の視点から詳述した。なおこの「改稿」に類比的な改版として、西郷信綱・永積安明・広末保著『日本文學の古典』（岩波新書、1954 年）と同二版（1966 年）が挙げられる。

[17] 関連する時代の状況については、村井紀「国文学者の十五年戦争」①②（『批評空間』Ⅱ 16、1998 年 1 月、同Ⅱ 18、1998 年 7 月）他、多くの論考があるが、近時の論考では、『平家物語』をめぐる近代的受容を論じ、益田勝実とも関わりの深い国文学者永積安明の戦中と戦後の活動についても批判的追跡のある、大津雄一『『平家物語』の再誕――創られた国民叙事詩』（NHK ブックス No. 1206、2013 年）とその参考文献が有用である。

直し、『改稿版』を刊行しているからである[18]。かくして、1951・52年〜63年というタイムスパンは、らせん状に絡まって、文学史研究史上にも、エポックメーキングな展開を見せるのだ。

さて、文字と口承の出会いや葛藤を経て、説話文学が生まれる、という益田の定義は、一見、W-J・オング『声の文化と文字の文化（*Orality and Literacy*）』（1982年）が捉えるような、一般的な問題であるようにみえるが、そればかりではない。益田の前提には、平安貴族社会に「文学の『永遠性』」と「階級的モメント」（西郷前掲書）を見る、戦後的問題が配置される。

> 古代文学という概念は、人類史の発展における古代・中世・近代という諸段階を前提とし、それに裏づけられた史的概念であって、そこにはすでに一定の意味、すなわち文学の生産と享受が支配的には古代貴族階級によってなされ、その階級性を荷なったところの文学という一定の意味が予想されているのである。それを文学の階級性とよんでいい。・・・平安期中期以後の物語文学、並びに院政期の『今昔物語』が非古代的要素を多分に有しながらも、なお古代文学という範疇でとらえることが可能でもあり正当でもあるゆえんも、文学のこの根本的階級性の見地からでなければならない。・・・いわゆる文学の「永遠性」とこの階級的モメントとを、全き対立物であると見なし、後者を廃棄して「永遠性」にのみ固執しようとするのは、水の性質を蒸留水に求めるのと同じく、これほど真実から遠ざかったものはない。文学史のあらゆる真実は、文学のいわゆる「永遠性」が、他の歴史的諸現象と同じように、常にこの階級的モメントにおいて、このモメントを不可避の媒介として現象するものであることを、疑う余地なく証示している。（西郷『日本古代文學史』、下線は引用者）

上記は『改稿版』では削除された部分である。益田論には、こうした議論を相対化して、平安文学の発生を総合的、もしくは普遍的に捉えようとする方法論的操作がある。文字と口承の出会いは、歴史的な階級闘争の次元を前置しつつ止揚して、抽象的論述へと昇華される。

前提としての柳田國男と〈笑い〉

当時、伝承説話を考察する立場としては当然のことだが、益田勝実が繰り返し引用し、より直接かつ批判的に受け止めた先行研究は、柳田國男の口承文芸論である。柳田が焦点化する、文字を持たない民衆の口承文芸という視点ではなく、対極的に、益田は、浮遊する口承世界が、貴族社会の文字に書き留められて昇華する、一回的な出会いの場を想定して、口承的〈文学〉としての説話文学を構想する。益田には、『今昔物語集』の集成など、

[18] 岩波全書。その後、同時代ライブラリー277（岩波書店、1996年）、岩波現代文庫（岩波書店、2005年）、『文学史と文学理論II　日本古代文学史』（西郷信綱著作集7、平凡社、2011年）に収録。

平安時代に大きな潮流を迎える説話文学の発生について、文字に書き記された伝承世界が、歴史性の中で、文学として飛翔する契機をどう考えるかという、文学史としての問題意識が強くあった。益田は、口承の語りと文字による文学的筆記性が出会い、闘争し、葛藤して生み出される文学として〈説話文学〉を捉え、そこに、貴族性と常民と、階級をトランスして、「複雑な構造においてつかもうとする」、文学としての真摯な可能性を見出す。

益田の説話文学論には、口承文芸の把握において、柳田をアンチテーゼとしてジャンプした、戦後的な文学史が抽出されている。たとえば、先引の文字との出会いを論じる部分に続けて、益田は、「説話文学」とは「作家が直接に自己の内面的事実や社会の現実に直面して描き出す文学ではなく、かれが、口承のはなしという一つの、すでにある文学の方法で貫かれている伝承としての現実的存在に、自己を対置させて行う文字による文学創造である。いわば、現実との一見非直接的な関係の下で、現実に深くかかわりあう文学が成立しているところに、説話文学の特質がある」と説いている（『説話文学と絵巻』「説話文学の方法㈠」）。この「口承のはなし」の定義として、批判的に対置されるのが柳田國男の日本民俗学である[19]。

益田勝実は、『説話文学と絵巻』の前提に、「今昔物語の問題点」（『日本文学』1954年7月）という旧稿があると記している[20]。『今昔物語集』の中で、笑話ばかりを集めた巻二十八の説話群の分析を中核に据えた論文である。

それと符合するように、戦後のこの時期、柳田の多くの研究の中で注目されるのが、〈笑い〉をめぐる研究である。柳田は、敗戦直後の1945年暮れに『笑の本願』を刊行した。時局をにらんだ意識的な出版である。また、占領期終了後、テレビ放送開始の年にあたる1953年には、『不幸なる芸術』を出版している。笑いをめぐるこの両書は、のちに岩波文庫では一冊にまとめられている[21]。彼が、戦後の世相の中で、改めて伝承世界の笑いに対する愛惜と復権を説いていることは重要である。1945～53年という、この二冊が区切るタイムスパンにも注意したい。

『不幸なる芸術』は、柳田が愛惜する『今昔物語集』巻二十八の笑いを「ヲコの文学」として細かく分析している。戦後の説話文学研究において、『今昔物語集』という作品の果たした役割はとても大きいのだが、いま注目したいのは、柳田と益田の関係である。益田の「今昔物語の問題点」という論文は、柳田の笑いの研究『不幸なる芸術』刊行の翌年に発表されているからである。益田勝実の「今昔物語の問題点」という論文の意図するところは、あきらかに、柳田の〈笑い〉論を射程においている。

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19 益田は、柳田自身に対する研究も多く残している。「民俗の思想」（『現代日本思想大系30　民俗の思想』筑摩書房、1964年）、「柳田国男の思想」（『現代日本思想大系29　柳田国男』筑摩書房、1965年）など参照（ちくま学芸文庫『益田勝実の仕事1』2006年所収）。

20 「あとがき」に、「この書の中に解体・吸収した自己の論文」として掲出される。同書巻頭「説話の世界」章の「三　話にならない話」が対応する。

21 岩波文庫『不幸なる芸術　笑いの本願』（1979年）。解説は井上ひさし。

映像メディアと説話文学

オング『声の文化と文字の文化』は、マスコミや映像の問題にまで踏み込んで議論を進めようとする。しかし柳田や益田の場合には、マスメディアとしての大衆文化の影響を見ることができない。時代の必然ではあるが、柳田も益田も、世間話や説話に注目し、その民衆や民族のエネルギーに注目した、ということからすれば、既存のラジオやレコードとともに、この時期、勃興しつつあった、映像メディアや放送などへの鈍感さが気になるところである。

先に論じたように、戦前から戦後にかけて、カラー映画への集中的関心があり、また53年にはテレビ放送も始まる[22]。しかし、たとえば柳田の映画への言及は、民俗資料を記録するメディアとしての注目として残されてはいるものの、いささかネガティブな評価だったようで、言及自体もきわめて少ない[23]。益田の文学論にも、当時のポピュラーカルチャーの影響をうかがうのはむずかしい。大衆や常民を研究のポイントにした彼らが、ハイカルチャーと対置するポップカルチャーを同時代的にどう受け止めて、伝承文芸を論じようとしていたのか、という問題は、現代的視点として興味深いことだと思う。逆アナクロニズムだという批判を覚悟しつつ、作業仮説として関心を継続したい。

益田勝実の『説話文学と絵巻』から2年後の1962年、文字通り「説話文学会」を名乗る学会が結成され、2012年に50周年を迎えた[24]。現在につながる研究基盤の完成をこの時期に見て、論を進めてきた所以である[25]。

柳田がイメージした芸能と笑いの問題は、実はほぼ同時代的に拡大して、いずれ、大衆社会において、テレビの時代を経て、彼のイメージとは恐らく大きく異なる展開を遂げていく。先鋭的に、大衆や常民の文化に主眼をおいた彼らの目が、むしろその時点で大きくズレ始めていた、ということは、今日のポップカルチャー研究の方向性を考える上でも、重要なテーマだと思っている。

最後に、一連の略年表を以下に掲げて、本稿を閉じたい。

1951　サンフランシスコ平和条約調印
『カルメン故郷に帰る』（日本初といわれる長編カラー映画）公開
西郷信綱『日本古代文學史』刊行

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22 テレビ創生期の同時代的回想としては、小林信彦『テレビの黄金時代』（文春文庫、2005年）など参照。

23 野田真吉・未発表遺作論文「柳田国男の『民族芸術と文化映画』と宮田登の『映像民俗学の調査方法』をめぐって――民俗事象の映像記録についての諸問題（一記録映画作家の立場から）の覚え書」（『映像民俗学7』web版）。

24 体系的な歴史叙述ではないが、説話文学会編『説話から世界をどう解き明かすのか　説話文学会設立50周年記念シンポジウム［日本・韓国］の記録』（笠間書院、2013年7月）に関連のコメントが寄せられている。

25 説話文学会での今日のテーマは、資料の発掘と紹介評価、漢字（漢文）文化圏の拡がりとアジア文学としての説話、また絵画と文学の相関など、際限のない拡散を続けて活況を呈しているが、〈文学〉や作品についての議論は、むしろきわめて少なくなっている。領導的立場にある小峯和明は、早くより、研究展望として、「そもそも単一の作品を単一に論じてことたれりとする時代ではなくなった」（『宇治拾遺物語の表現時空』あとがき、若草書房、1999年）などと発言して、説話文学研究の方法論的反省を迫る。

中井宗太郎「信貴山縁起絵巻の一考察――人民リアリズムのあけぼの」
1952　占領期終了
『風と共に去りぬ』日本公開（テクニカラー、1939 年アメリカ公開）
1953　柳田國男『不幸なる芸術』
テレビ本放送開始
1953–59　益田勝実『説話文学と絵巻』の基礎稿執筆（1953「今昔物語の問題点」）
1955　日本共産党第六回全国協議会（六全協）
佐竹昭広「古代日本語における色名の性格」
1960　益田勝実『説話文学と絵巻』刊行
1962　柳田國男没
説話文学会設立
1963　西郷信綱『日本古代文学史　改稿版』刊行
黒澤明『天国と地獄』にパートカラー採用
武者小路穣『絵巻　プレパラートにのせた中世』刊行

From Elite Zen to Popular Zen: Readings of Text and Practice in Japan and the West

Jørn Borup

Introduction: Cool Zen and Funeral Zen

Zen for Mothers is a Danish book on how to get the best out of motherhood in a way best suited for the modern mother, who aspires to fulfill the needs of both her children and her own individuality. *Zen and Management* is another, written by a Zen practitioner and one of the directors of the company Zen Mind. The book caters to the individual who wants a "considerably improved life quality" (zenmind.dk) and the modern manager who aims at optimizing leadership and business through Zen philosophy and practice. These books are inspired by a long list of predecessors, beginning with *Zen in the Art of Archery* (Herrigel 1953) and *Zen and the Art of Motorcycle Maintenance* (1974), both of which became cult literature for generations of truth-seeking westerners. The catchy title "Zen and the Art of…" has since then become the epitome of a whole genre of books expressing a general fascination with one specific concept.

Apart from fancy book titles, Zen, as a floating signifier for anything related to truth, spirit and authenticity, has fully entered the market place. Zen has become the name of health products, bars and restaurants. A Danish company, ZenUrt ("Zen Herbs"), sells health products "for anyone who wants to create wellbeing and relaxation for body and mind" (zenurt.dk). An exclusive nightclub in Copenhagen is called Zen, where Zen VIPs, Zen darlings and the whole Zen Family can enjoy the Circus of Zen and a real Zen experience (www.zen.dk). The concept of Zen has in itself become a mental ideal, a psychological tool with which to live, mindfully, an authentic, pure and spiritual life. Zen has also become a concept detached from its religious or cultural origin. "Zen and the art of…" books as well as commercials and self-development stories in lifestyle magazines typically express the Western spiritualization of Zen as a brand of coolness and authenticity, semantically equivalent to "mind," "quality," "truth" or spiritual essence.[1] Zen sells, Zen is a good brand. Zen in the West is *cool*.

Such uses of Zen can be seen as indications of a general secularization or "profanization" process, or as "commercialization of the sacred" (Shimazono 1998). They can also be seen as outcomes of a transfiguration of ideas, practices and narratives undergoing change in transcultural meetings between "East" and "West," transforming elite traditions to popular culture. But Zen

[1] On the general "coolnessification" of Buddhism, see Borup 2009.

is also an obvious case illustrating differences in scholarly perspectives and reception history within the field.

Scholarly analysis of Buddhism in Japan in recent years has challenged and contextualized former images of "Zen." *Zen* 禅 understood as a specific kind of phenomenon within the domain of religion is a sectarian brand of a particular kind of Buddhism that traditionally has focused on monastic strictness, *zazen* 座禅 and a patriarchal lineage of enlightened masters. Zen can be traced to Chinese Chan, but has through its historical inclusion with other domains of society achieved a certain Japanese flavor. While narrating sudden experiences of *satori* (disguised as "Rhetorics of Immediacy," Faure 1991), the "Other side of Zen" (Williams 2005) and Buddhism in Japan is mostly associated with ancestor worship, ceremonies, family temples and famous tourist sites. Lived Zen (Borup 2008) and "temple Buddhism" (Covell 2005) is very much about the "Worldliness in a Religion of Renunciation" (Covell 2005), a proper designation being "Zen and the art of funerals" (Bodiford 1992). The influential scholars of Japanese "critical Buddhism" (*hihan bukkyō* 批判仏教), Hakamaya Noriaki and Matsumoto Shirō, have argued that "Zen is not Buddhism" (Hubbard and Swanson 1997), or at least that popular notions of Zen are not Buddhism. Yamada Shōji suggests that identifying stone gardens and martial arts with Zen is a modern construction and that popular Zen is "a self-generated narcotic" (Yamada 2009: 242). In the light of the impact of tremendous social changes since Meiji and post-war eras, such conceptual narcotics are understandable. Modernity, with its rationalization and secularization, and post-modernity, with its extreme individualization and skepticism of traditional authorities, also challenge religious institutions to respond. A decline in the number of engaged adherents (or *danka* 檀家), increasing numbers of deserted temples, and severe challenges to the survival of Buddhist institutions are all closely related to the process of general secularization in the modern world.

In a sense, Zen was also bound to be lured down from its ivory tower. Zen had also become popularized and democratized, and it needed to counterbalance the elitist and hierarchical Zen with a broader "umbrella Zen" (Borup 2008: 278ff). In a broader perspective, the huge discrepancy between Cool Zen and Funeral Zen (*sōshiki Bukkyō* 葬式仏教) is quite understandable.

This article will address the theme of popular Zen in Japan and the West. It will place the study of Zen, Buddhism and religion in a historical context, suggesting that both fields have undergone parallel and dialectic changes.[2] It concludes with reflections on the relation between one particular kind of popular culture, "Zen spirituality," and its apparent lack of parallel in Japan.

[2] Parts of this article will appear in Borup forthcoming.

Elite Zen

Throughout history Buddhism has had its share of sectarian conflicts of orthodoxy and orthopraxy. Institutional fragmentation is not the only sign of the diversity of Buddhisms. Such diversities have been analyzed through two-tiered models dividing great and little traditions, textual and practice religion, elite and folk Buddhism. While such stratified models may not capture the reality of lived religion, they do have analytical relevance. In fact, representations of monolithic narratives are mostly to be seen as ideological statements, something which has also often been the case with "Zen." Playing with the frames of the Chinese system of hermeneutics, *panjiao*, in which Buddhist schools were placed hierarchically, Chan identified itself as a specific teaching, branding itself as going beyond such systems, pointing *directly* at truth. The patriarchal lineage has been the institutional blueprint of authority, "having been socially defined as Chan masters, what they teach has the performative power of being the truth" (Faure 1991: 22). The image of especially the Rinzai tradition of being aristocratic lives on, not least because of the existence of prestigious temples in Kyoto and Kamakura. Self-manufactured narratives of being true, traditional and "high culture" Buddhism are often reproduced in books and the media, giving (Rinzai) Zen a blueprint of authenticity.

Sectarian boundaries and authenticity claims have also been important in Japanese Zen narratives. These were inspired not least by modernity discourses with Western and Christian ideas of theological correctness. In their endeavor to transform dark images of an antiquarian folk religion that had subsequently been persecuted, "spiritual intellectuals" (*reiseiteki chishikijin* 霊性的知識人) managed to shape a rationalized and spiritualized version of Buddhism that catered to an internationally minded elite in both Japan and the West. The "Protestant Buddhism" of Sri Lanka had its counterpart in "Protestant Zen" (Sharf 1995) in Japan. "Pure Zen" (*junsui Zen* 純粋禅) became the mantra of a textualized universal philosophy, psychology, science and theology. And it became the ideal of the unmediated experience so much valued in nineteenth century psychologization of religion. Not least the writings of D.T. Suzuki and Hisamatsu Shin'ichi helped construct the image of Zen as an expression of Japanese fine culture (e.g., the tea ceremony, martial arts, gardens, calligraphy) and in general the spiritual soul of Japaneseness. While *junsui Zen* was primarily an elitist construct for an elite segment, *Zen bunka* 禅文化 or *taishū Zen* 大衆禅 were invented traditions with a broader appeal, both Japanizing Zen and Zen-izing Japan.

Zen as an elite practice and culture was simultaneously transferred to a universal spirit, available to the serious and cultivated seeker. Through networks of an international elite, Zen came to the West first as inspirational food for thought and later as a practice to be embraced by practitioners. Spiritual seekers, thinkers, artists, avant-garde poets, counter-culture beatniks and ecologically and socially engaged activists from the well-educated middle class have used Zen as an inspiring way to gain insight and improve performance. Among Western scholars, Zen has long been a signifier of elite religion. Zen koans, Zen stories and Zen meditation have been interpreted within the frames of spirituality, mysticism, philosophy and psychology, often

placed at the top of an implicit evolutionary perspective or going beyond any comparison. As a concept that is used, elaborated on and consumed primarily by a cultural elite, "Zen" carries a large amount of symbolic capital.

The "Suzuki effect" (Faure 1993) has not only had a large impact on Western practitioners and scholars of Zen, but also played an important role in Japan. Not least among Buddhist scholars, Suzuki still stands out as a unique personality. As a lived religion, Suzuki Zen is primarily a discourse thought and a tradition practiced by a small number of people. Culturally, Zen has been used to manufacture Zen gardens and martial arts (*kyūdō*) in Japan (Yamada 2009). What is interesting is that "Zen-izing" such fields was largely due to inspiration from thinkers and writers such as D.T. Suzuki, E. Herrigel and others, who had a very specific view of and interest in such spiritualized Zen. The Japanese were in general influenced by such books (Herrigel was something all Japanese should read, Yamada 2009: 239); but Zen as a Western construct was also accepted in Japan (Yamada 2009: 241). The logic of such "shots in the dark" survives in popular literature today in the West, and occasionally in Japan, mostly through English or translated books. A title like *Kyoto: City of Zen* (Clancy and Simmons 2013) is a typical Western book associating a tourist destination with a spiritual brand image.

Whereas the Japanese lay Zen and the imported, organized Zen in the West have mainly been democratized elite Zen, Westernized Zen in a broader sense can be termed "popular." It has been commodified and manufactured beyond religious frames, it has reached a broader segment, and it has to a large extent cut off its ties to the Buddhist origins and elite tradition.[3] Elite Buddhist Zen has become popular, new age Zen. Pure Zen has become hybrid Zen.

From Ideal Zen to Real Zen in the Academy

When Sharf described Sanbō Kyōdan as a new religious movement (Sharf 1995), he situated this group in historically particularistic frames, assuming a distinction between traditional Zen and a modern, popularized version of Zen. As such, he also signaled a new research tradition, in particular among American scholars from the early 1990s, which deconstructed former elitist approaches to Japanese Zen and Buddhism. "Cold realism eliminates dismissive misapprehension" is one of John McRae's "rules of Zen studies" (McRae 2004: xx), which is a relatively long way from the romantic ideas of spiritual experiences. Former paradigms in religious studies focusing almost exclusively on elite classical texts, on theological systems and on great traditions in which folk and popular practices have been looked upon as deviant from the true sources have been supplemented with a broader focus on ritual practice, discourses, folk and little traditions, and hybrid manifestations of lived religion.

[3] Even an American scholar of classical "elite Zen" has joined the group of authors using Zen as a philosophy and technique for managers and white collar workers (Heine 2005).

"Popular" in this sense does not only mean that contemporary consumer culture or symbols from one domain (e.g., religion) are used in general popular culture. Popular religion also means the social frame in which official religion becomes accessible and used beyond the constraints of official, theological, elitist systems and discourses. As such, popular religion understood as "lived religion" or "culture religion" in a sense has been the "default religion" of most people in most places throughout history, and elitist doctrinalized, textualized and institutionalized religion the outcome of a long construction process of authenticity and authority by and for the minority.[4] A scholarly tradition within the study of religion transcending social, economic and power-related aspects in a hermeneutics of understanding is important, but in the study of lived religion it is also reductionist, not least because popular culture and religion "influences what people accept as plausible" (Partridge 2004: 123).

When Bernard Faure, the epitome of Chan/Zen deconstruction, suggested supplementing the hermeneutical and structuralist approach with a performative approach (Faure 1991, 1993), he not only contextualized Chan and Zen in their interrelatedness with the scholarly tradition. He also pointed out that Chan and Zen have always had folk and popular elements. Bodhidharma is also a folk religious object (Faure 2011), meditation is also a ritual (Faure 1991), Zen patriarchs are also thaumaturgs (Faure 1991), and Zen rituals are also magic (Faure 1991). Popular religion was thus not an external influence degrading or obstructing an original, pure Chan/Zen, but "actually emerged from within Chan itself" (Faure 1991: 306). Elite Zen can only be absolutely differentiated from popular Zen by rhetoric and theological reasoning.[5]

And what goes for Zen is characteristic of Japanese religion in general. Had it not been for their derogative connotations, Ian Reader and George Tanabe (1998) could have chosen "folk religion" or "popular religion" rather than "common religion" in analyzing *genze riyaku* as the most common denominator for all Japanese religion. Popular Zen, popular religion and popular culture have always been there. But since research traditions (and popular media culture itself) create the frames of discourse, elite Zen has been the standard narrative of previous Western scholarship. One interesting question to pursue is: to what extent is contemporary Zen in Japan also part of the field which in the West very often includes or is even identified with Zen, namely new spirituality?

[4] Beyond the field of Zen, Buddhism and Japanese religion, such trends in acknowledging the importance of popular culture in the general study of religion are indicated by an increasing number of books and journals (e.g., *The Journal of Religion and Popular Culture*).

[5] On Zen as a living religion, see also Borup 2008, on Zen and folk local folk rituals, see Borup 2008, pp. 234–45.

Japanese Popular Zen and Spiritualized Zen?

In a global world, it could be assumed that Westernized Zen will not remain culturally bound. If it is true that "Japan has become too westernized to de-westernize and Asianize" (Kamiya in Antoni 2002: 26), could we expect a post-modern version of the so-called "pizza effect," in which religious traditions are transformed and re-imported in the versions constructed abroad?

Within institutionalized Japanese Buddhism, changes have begun. In coping with the crises, it has been acknowledged that better branding is necessary, whether this includes Zen cafes, fashion shows, bars, mangas, karaoke or rock concerts. One recent event that underlines the necessity and significance of a socially engaged Buddhism has been the relief work by religious (and Buddhist) organizations related to the Great East Japan Earthquake in 2011, the impact of which has sometimes been referred to in the media as a contemporary "religion boom" and "Buddhism boom." While Zen and other Buddhist schools approach social engagement to varying degrees, the relation between Zen and spirituality is somewhat less clear. "Spiritual Zen" in the West is almost an a priori proposition ("how can Zen *not* be spiritual?"), and a true representation of an elitist tradition that has been democratized and popularized. If (for reasons of analytical simplification) spirituality is understood as ideas and practices aiming at individual and inner purification and transformation, there are many examples of spirituality initiatives related to or based on Zen. Within the Rinzai and Sōtō Zen institutions there are many *zazen-kai* 座禅会 (meditation sessions) aimed at lay people, and lay groups such as Sanbō Kyōdan or Ningen Zen have made *zazen* for lay people their main activity. Beyond the Zen organizations, *zazen* has become part of spirituality practices and courses, such as those focusing on meditation and yoga.

One symptomatic example of an attempt to "spiritualize Zen" within such frames of contemporary and popular spirituality can be observed in one of the sub-temples of Myōshinji in Kyoto. Some years ago the residing priest opened his temple to outsiders, offering meditation, yoga classes and discussions of spirituality. In this way, he hoped to challenge and reverse the dark image of funeral Zen with a view to creating a more lively and spiritual Zen. Typically for such an approach, the priest drew his inspiration from his stay at an American university, and most people who come to the temple are not Japanese from his own congregation but spiritually interested foreigners. Such endeavors might seem Sisyphean. He is challenged not only by a long tradition of Japanese funeral Zen and *danka Zen*, but also by an organization that has an interest in maintaining the distinction between an elitist and a popular Zen, thus protecting the authority of clerical Zen (Borup 2008).

The question is whether such barriers themselves are challenged by other developments. While secularization has also been a major threat to organized religion in a Japanese context, the new and new new religions (*shin shin shūkyō* 新々宗教) have for decades been the alternatives both to traditional religion and to no religion. In recent years, spirituality beyond the frames of organized religion has also taken hold of many Japanese. The phrases "from salvation to spiritu-

ality" (Shimazono 2012) and "from secularism to spirituality" (Shimazono 2012: 6) designate a general tendency for the spiritual world (*seishin seikai* 精神世界) and spiritual movements (*shin reisei undō* 新霊性運動) to appeal especially to the youth culture.

It would be obvious to look for parallels in Japan to the Western correlation between Zen and an individualized, spiritual environment. It could be assumed that post-Aum dissatisfaction with organized religion and the increasing individualization also in Japan include Zen as spirituality in both institutionalized religion and new age spirituality—just as esoteric Buddhism has already been included and rediscovered in this world (Prohl 2002: 78, 89). The field of spirituality (*supirichuaru* スピリチュアル and *supirichuaritī* スピリチュアリティ) is in many ways closely related to and inspired by American new age and contemporary Western spirituality. This is true of yoga, *feng shui* and other "Asian" concepts and practices—but interestingly it is not true of "Zen" and it is only partially true of Buddhism (Borup forthcoming). Zen and spirituality in Japan seem to be part of two narratives that are simply too dissimilar: the traditional religion of Japan and the spiritual tradition of (mainly) the West. Both the Zen institutions and the spirituality world have interests in not overlapping and being identified with each other (Borup forthcoming). Zen has always been both elitist and popular, with both hierarchical Zen and "umbrella Zen" being part of Japanese Zen Buddhism. But Zen in Japan as a practice, institution and concept is only popular and "spiritual" to a very limited extent in the sense typically applied to a general Western narrative. So this spiritualized and psychologized new age version of Zen mostly seems to be a Western invention. As such, this kind of new age Zen is particular, rather than universal.

This does not mean that elite Zen and "cultural Zen" in a longer perspective cannot also become mainstream and part of a spiritual market or of popular media culture. It might also be a possible future scenario that Zen will be part of more hybrid and global networks, becoming more mainstream and popular also in Japan, and that we will see a "secularization" of Zen, using cool Zen in brands, commercials and secular practices, just as yoga and mindfulness have been de-sacralized in the West. Such issues are naturally important for future research, not least in a new research field in which institutionalized, traditional religion (*kinsei shūkyō* 近世宗教) also needs to be approached in its contemporary and social contexts in Japan as well as globally.

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Part 2
Japan and Europe: Leading to Globalized "Japanese Studies"

日本とヨーロッパ
――グローバル化された「日本研究」に向けて

Japanese Literature in Global Contexts

Gunilla Lindberg-Wada

A Familiar Situation

Starting out with a concrete example of the subject's implications, this paper discusses the symposium's theme: rethinking "Japanese Studies." Yet, what do we mean by Japanese studies and what are we attempting to achieve? By drawing on our experience as scholars of Japanese studies we may overcome conventional divisions between academic fields and geographical areas by making effective use of the subject's inherent "in-between-ness."

In August 2009, the conference "Codex and Code: Aesthetics, Language, and Politics in an Age of Digital Media" was held at the Royal Institute of Technology (KTH) in Stockholm. The Nordic Association for Comparative Literature (NorLit) organized the conference in cooperation with a number of Swedish academic institutions.[1]

The conference's principal purpose was to examine the challenges that literary studies encounter in an age of digitalization and globalization. The aim was to encourage an exchange concerning how the field of literary studies should respond to on-going changes in media, technology, politics, and the economy. The conference was organized around a number of thematic sessions in which researchers and scholars in Comparative Literature, Classical and Modern Languages, Media and Communication Studies, Film and Theatre Studies, Aesthetics, Philosophy, and other adjacent disciplines presented and discussed papers.[2]

One of my Ph.D. candidates at the time, Stina Jelbring, was in the final stage of her doctoral dissertation, and the conference presented an excellent opportunity to discuss her work. She participated in a session entitled Literary Studies in Modern Languages, organized by

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[1] The Department of Culture and Communication, Linköping University; The School of Computer Science and Communication, Royal Institute of Technology (KTH); The Department of Comparative Literature, Stockholm University; The Department of Culture and Communication, Södertörn University College; and The Department of Comparative Literature, Uppsala University.

[2] The sessions' titles included: Avant-garde; Challenging Gender and Sexuality: Texts and Adaptions; Children's Literature; Contemporary Aesthetics; Critical Theory; Drama Theory and Aesthetics; English Language Literature; French Literature; Law and Literature; Literature and Narrative Spaces; Literature and Science; Literature in New Media; Literature—Religion—Philosophy; Literary Studies in Modern Languages; Materiality I; Materiality II; Media and Mediality; The Moving Image; Narratology and Intersemiotics; Older Literature: Methodological Problems in Research; Poetics; Popular Culture; Pornography; Post-colonialism; Psycho-analysis; Publics of Literature; Rhetoric; Translation, Theory, and Practice; Word, Image, Sound: The Materialities of Language.

a colleague in the department of Oriental Languages at Stockholm University, Martin Svensson Ekström, Associate Professor of Chinese.[3]

Four papers were presented in the session:

"Alternative Postcolonialism in Hongkong Drama Translation," Chapman Chen, University of Joensuu, Finland;
"Decontextualization as Basic Approach to Japanese Court Literature," Stina Jelbring, Stockholm University, Sweden;
"Litteraturvetenskapen i Sverige: Analys av en begreppsförvirring" [Comparative Literature in Sweden: Analysis of a Confusion of Concepts], Esbjörn Nyström, Tartu University, Estonia; published in *Tidskrift för litteraturvetenskap* 1 (2010);
"Teoribrist eller metodologisk precision inom Octavio Paz-forskningen?" [Lacking in Theory or Adding Methodological Precision to the Research on Octavio Paz?], Petronella Zetterlund, Lund University, Sweden.

Regrettably, the lively inter and intra-disciplinary discussions with scholars from the departments of Literature, Languages, Aesthetics, Media and Communication, Film and Theatre, Philosophy, and others that we looked forward to attending were limited, to say the least. Apart from four speakers and the session's chair, the audience consisted of two members, including myself. Perhaps the subject matter of the presented papers was too disparate to provide a common ground for fruitful discussion. This situation is emblematic of Japanese Studies, however: while it welcomes interaction with the academic community at large, it remains marginalized, enduring an unrequited love of sorts. Remarkably, Esbjörn Nyström's paper on "Comparative Literature in Sweden" presented in the same session provided an excellent model to analyze the relationship between Japanese Studies on one hand, and the study of literature on the other.

Both Literature and Language departments carry out the study and research of literature in Sweden. If we examine the publication of doctoral dissertations in the country between 1999 and 2008, 45.9% and 54.1% were from the departments of literature and language respectively. Approximately 80% of the dissertations published by the literature departments covered Swedish literature, comprising 37.6% of the total number of dissertations published; 30.3% were written in English and primarily from English departments, although some were from Slavic and Oriental language departments as well.[4]

Despite this situation, the general impression derived from Swedish media and academic journals is that literary research is only conducted by the departments of literature in Sweden, dubbed departments of "Litteraturvetenskap," a Swedish variation of the German term

[3] Stina Jelbring publicly defended her dissertation in April the following year, 2010: "A Decontextual Stylistics Study of the *Genji monogatari*: With a Focus on the 'Yūgao' Story." The dissertation may be downloaded without charge via http://su.diva-portal.org/smash/record.jsf?searchId=1&pid=diva2:305647.

[4] Esbjörn Nyström. "Litteraturvetenskapen i Sverige: Analys av en begreppsförvirring." *Tidskrift för litteraturvetenskap* 1 (2010), pp. 64–65.

"Literaturwissenschaft." The "Science of Literature" or "Literary Studies" is perhaps its English equivalent, although it is usually labeled "Comparative Literature" on Swedish universities' English-language websites. The discourse thus assumes that literary studies and research in Sweden is a domain exclusive to "Litteraturvetenskap" departments. Nyström argues that this misconception is due to a misunderstanding of concepts, since Swedish academia makes no distinction between the discipline and the academic subject, or organizational unit.[5] Study and research within the discipline of "litteraturvetenskap," or Literary Studies, is carried out within the framework of a number of academic disciplines and departments, such as Literature, Languages, Cultural Studies, Gender Studies, and Media Studies—to name a few.

The State of Japanese Studies

Are Japanese Studies a discipline like Literary Studies, for example? Study and research concerning Japanese society and culture based primarily on Japanese (including Sino-Japanese) sources is carried out at various departments including History, Political Science, Business and Economics, Human Geography, Theatre Studies, and Anthropology. For instance, in Sweden, an estimated 37–40% of the circa twenty-five scholars of Japanese Studies work in departments dedicated to their field, while the majority is employed by other departments and organizations. What are the theories and methods of this discipline? In Hisamatsu Sen'ichi's informative work regarding the formation of *kokugaku* and its relation to national literature in Japan, Japanese Studies appear in *kokugaku*'s very definition. Firstly, Hisamatsu includes the ancient national education system's local schools in the definition; secondly, it entails studies of Japan within all fields of research (synonymous with Japanology, or Japanese Studies overseas); thirdly, it is a science whose explicit goal is to clarify and reveal what is purely Japanese solely from a native point of view.[6] Thus, this is an academic discipline with specific theories, methods, and goals.

Are we then the *kokugakusha* of our time? Probably few of us identify with the seventeenth and eighteenth century scholars of National Learning.[7] Still, it is hard to deny that foreign education and texts regarding Japan have been, and in some respects still are, very similar to the discipline of *kokugaku*. In fact, many may shudder at the thought of the *nihonjinron* theories of Japanese uniqueness that we grew tired of as undergraduates. Scholars of Japanese Studies in the Nordic region question the notion of "clarifying and revealing what is purely Japanese, solely from a native point of view" as an explicit goal, or its application as a philological methodology.

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5 Nyström 2010, pp. 61–63.

6 Hisamatsu Sen'ichi. *Kokugaku: Sono seiritsu to kokubungaku to no kankei* [The Formation of National Learning and Its Relation to National Literature in Japan]. Tokyo: Shibundō, 1941, pp. 2–3.

7 There is no adequate translation of the term *kokugaku* 国学 into English. The phrase "National Learning" falsely implies continuity between the *kokugaku* vision of Japan and modern Japanese nationalism. This term is used with reservation. Cf. Susan L. Burns. *Before the Nation: Kokugaku and the Imagining of Community in Early Modern Japan*. Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2003, pp. 231–32, note 1.

Are Japanese Studies a unique academic subject? For undergraduate and graduate students, this is certainly a subject of study, and in some cases the department that they graduated from. Apart from this, Japanese Studies may rather be considered an interdisciplinary organizational unit, in concrete or more or less fluid terms: a sort of scholarly identity that academics adapt to and dispose of when necessary.

Japanese Studies as an Interdisciplinary Subject, Organizational Unit, and Academic Identity Marker

To summarize the above discussion, Japanese Studies in the Nordic region is an eclectic academic subject, employing theories and methodologies from various disciplines dependent on the nature and needs of the research in question; they are based on Japanese and Sino-Japanese sources, and contribute to numerous disciplines. Japanese Studies can often be defined as an organizational unit focused on research and training pertaining to Japanese culture and society; at other times, it functions as an international community of scholars whose academic interests in some way pertain to Japanese culture and society.

During my early Ph.D. studies in the 1970s, I expected that the continuously growing community of Japanese Studies would exert some influence on its associated disciplines, such as literary theory. Yet, as years passed, this idea seemed more easily imagined than realized. As mentioned in the introduction, conference papers pertaining to subject areas other than Europe and North America are frequently relegated to a separate session regardless of their content. One reason for this is probably that they seem alien in some way, and are considered irrelevant to the discipline in question. The conference papers mentioned in the introduction partially illustrate another commonly encountered and frequently internalized problem, in which academics from associated disciplines assume that scholars of "Non-European" Studies lack equal theoretical and methodological awareness, a phenomenon reflected in the title of Zetterlund's paper, "Teoribrist eller metodologisk precision inom Octavio Paz-forskningen?" [Lacking in Theory or Adding Methodological Precision to the Research on Octavio Paz?]. In the paper, Zetterlund describes how her unique method of close reading produced results that were otherwise unobtainable with readymade theories of literature and established approaches to Paz's works.

Stina Jelbring's conference paper, "Decontextualization as Basic Approach to Japanese Court Literature," illustrates another way of countering negative expectations regarding theoretical and methodological awareness, by testing modern Western literary theories and methods' applicability to "alien" materials. In this case the materials were classical Japanese court literature—with particular emphasis on *The Tale of Genji*. Jelbring argues that decontextualization, as a consciously applied method, may highlight new interpretations and comparisons, while spawning fresh perspectives on analytical categories and concepts.

Overcoming Conventional Academic Organizational Divisions and Making Use of the Inherent In-Between-Ness of Japanese Studies

How do we overcome conventional academic organizational divisions and make use of the inherent in-between-ness of Japanese Studies? The methods may vary, but my personal approach through the years has included participation in joint literature and literary history projects, in an effort to lessen the marginalization of Japanese Studies in academia.

One of the projects began in 1996, when literary scholars from universities throughout Sweden gathered in Stockholm to discuss how they could cooperate to enhance and broaden the knowledge of non-western literature at their respective institutions, while also sharpening their theoretical and methodological tools. A group of approximately twenty-five scholars drafted a joint project application; after three years of discussions, seminars, planning, and requests for grants, "Literature and Literary History in Global Contexts: A Comparative Project" received full funding for six years from the Swedish Research Council, and was launched in 1999.

One of the project's key purposes was to address the difficulty of crafting a credible, comprehensive perspective of world literary history. The overarching aim was to find valid methods and approaches for the study and analysis of world literature, and to lay a foundation for the compilation of a world-centric literary history. Existing works surveying literary history worldwide may serve as valuable sources of information, although their treatment of different literary cultures tends to follow different principles, and even vary in conceptual basis from section to section. The project group thus decided to investigate concepts of literature, genre, and processes of appropriation and transformation among literary cultures over the last two centuries. Four subgroups were formed: one focused on concepts of literature and their application in global contexts, another on genre concepts and the comparison of genre systems, while the remaining two examined worldwide literary interactions during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

The subgroups met once or twice each semester to discuss practical matters, relevant research problems, articles, and participants' contributions at various stages. A general seminar was arranged each semester for the duration of the project, featuring international scholars as guest lecturers. The responsibility of arranging these seminars alternated between subgroups; this ensured that, as a rule, the guest lecturer would also participate in an adjacent subgroup meeting. Moreover, when the project reached a certain stage, international experts unaffiliated with the project scrutinized each volume and conducted thorough explorative discussions with the relevant subgroup.

A small managerial group comprising the volumes' designated editors directed the project. Apart from myself, who was appointed project leader, the group included Tord Olsson, Professor of History of Religions at Lund University; Margareta Petersson, Professor of Literature at Linnaeus University; Anders Petterson, Professor of Literature at Umeå University; Bo Utas, Professor of Iranistics at Uppsala University, who initiated the project in 1996; and Annika Lundström from Stockholm University, who administered the project. For full transparency, detailed minutes of the managerial group's proceedings were distributed to all project members.

Funding from the Swedish Research Council covered seminar costs, outside experts, and six months of full time work per article. Additionally, a fixed amount was allotted to project members for travel expenses and research materials. This, in addition to reduced teaching hours, allowed participants to plan and perform their duties in an efficient manner, freely participate in conferences, and collect research materials without financial burden.

The project resulted in the publication of *Literary History: Towards a Global Perspective*, a four volume series covering notions of literature across cultures, intercultural approaches to literary genres, and literary interactions in the modern world.[8]

To foster a relationship between the project and researchers globally, approximately twenty-five project members organized an international conference in 2004 featuring twenty-seven guest speakers from various locations worldwide. The conference's proceedings were published in *Studying Transcultural Literary History*, edited by Gunilla Lindberg-Wada (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2006).[9]

The theme of the conference was the feasibility of a world literary history as envisioned by the project. The response was quite positive, and a working group comprising guest speakers and some members of the Swedish managerial group formed to gauge its potential, and to devise a template for such a literary history. After the group's initial meeting in 2005, its work was formalized in 2008 with the establishment of the Stockholm Collegium of World Literary History, which currently comprises thirty-five fellows from various universities around the world, including members of its Executive Board.[10] The Collegium was officially established in Stockholm because it was considered the most politically neutral location for such an endeavor, which is presently the Collegium's main function.

Literature: A World History is intended to be a clear and rather robust overview of worldwide literary history condensed into four volumes, striving to cover international literary cultures more fairly and coherently than its counterparts, while simultaneously providing a more balanced representation of epistemologies, methodologies, and differing cultural perspectives. Its strength lies in its overall grasp of literature as a cultural phenomenon and in its synoptic view, which requires readers to consult additional sources for more specialized information. It is scheduled for publication by Wiley-Blackwell in the near future.

My experience as both a participant and leader of the two literary projects has convinced me that time is of the essence if scholars of Area Studies intend to "make a difference" in their respective disciplines. The many years spent planning projects, and the fruits of their realiza-

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[8] *Literary History: Towards a Global Perspective*, ed. Anders Pettersson, Gunilla Lindberg-Wada, Margareta Petersson, and Stefan Helgesson. Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2006: *Notions of Literature Across Cultures* (Volume 1), *Literary Genres: An Intercultural Approach* (Volume 2), and *Literary Interactions in the Modern World* (Volumes 3 and 4). For information about the volumes see http://www.degruyter.com/view/product/175409.

[9] For information about this book see http://www.degruyter.com/view/product/175423?rskey=yKRnlN&result=1&q=Studying transcultural literary history.

[10] For a list of Fellows and some information on the Collegium see http://www.orient.su.se/forskning/forskningsomraden/samhorande-forskning-1.38179.

tion, have contributed to an academic milieu of mutual trust and reciprocity. In parallel, scholars have made new forms of knowledge available to participants, and offered them invaluable opportunities to sharpen their methodological and theoretical skills through open discussion and creative criticism—two characteristics that have typified our seminars and meetings.

In addition to establishing concrete goals, appropriate funding is also a necessity, and was more easily obtained for the former project than for the latter. *Literature: A World History* failed to meet any research grant requirements since it was not a national, European, or "third-world" project; funding was occasionally available for meetings and discussions, albeit under the guise of conferences. In contrast, meetings and seminars for "Literature and Literary History in Global Contexts: A Comparative Project," received ample funding from the Swedish Research Council, which enabled the publication of *Literary History: Towards a Global Perspective*. Adequate funding for each contribution to the series constituted an ideal model for project funding and organization, which I wholeheartedly recommend to my colleagues and other institutions involved in grant-funded research.

Haiku: A Bridge between Sweden and Japan

Noriko Takei-Thunman

The Swedish Haiku Association (SHA) was founded in 1999, which demonstrates growing interest in haiku in Sweden. Since then, the association has held monthly haiku gatherings in Stockholm, where members' haiku are presented and commented upon by other attending members. In 2000, on the occasion of a visit from the Emperor and Empress of Japan to Sweden, an anthology of haiku, *Aprilsnö* 四月の雪 (April Snow), was compiled, containing 100 haiku by Swedish poets and 100 by Japanese poets. The anthology was in both Japanese and Swedish, included originals and translations, and was given to the Emperor and Empress in Stockholm. The member's journal, *HAIKU*, started to appear twice yearly in 2001.

In Japan, the International Haiku Exchange Association was established in 1989, through the cooperation of all three major Japanese haiku organizations.[1] This shows that, on the Japanese side, the genre's international expansion was felt strongly at the time. An International Haiku convention was held the following year. Some members of the Swedish Association have since participated in International Haiku Conventions, in, for instance, Matsue, Japan in 2003 and Vadstena, Sweden in 2007, which was organized by the SHA.[2] Recently, a symposium on "haiku in Sweden" was held at the Swedish Embassy in Tokyo (May 8–9, 2012). Kaneko Tōta, the honorary president of Gendai Haiku Association; Arima Akito, a member of the Association of Haiku Poets; and Kai Falkman, the president of SHA, were among the speakers invited to participate in the symposium's panel discussion.

In this paper, I would like to discuss the Swedish definition of haiku, as found in Swedish haiku poets' writings. To determine the genealogy of Swedish haiku—or, in other words, when and how haiku was introduced in Sweden—I briefly consider various translations that have played an important role in Sweden, because translations were the first step to introducing Japanese haiku to Sweden.

In this paper, I use "haiku" as the genre name, but sometimes also use it as the synonym of "ku," an individual haiku poem. I often refer to haiku writers as "haiku poets," which is "*haijin*" in Japanese. In some cases, I use "*haijin*."

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[1] Kokusai Haiku Kōryū Kyōkai 国際俳句交流協会; The three organizations are Gendai Haiku Kyōkai 現代俳句協会, Haijin Kyōkai 俳人協会, and Nihon Dentō Haiku Kyōkai 日本伝統俳句協会. Hoshino 2002, pp. 95–96.

[2] The Swedish Haiku Association's journal, *HAIKU* 7 (2004) and 11 (2007).

Haiku and Translations[3]

Swedish translations of haiku started appearing in the late 1950s based on English, French, and German translations.

Basil Hall Chamberlain translated some haiku that appeared in *Bashō and the Japanese Poetical Epigram* in 1902.[4] His *Japanese Poetry* appeared in 1910 and included many haiku from the Edo era.[5] He was an acknowledged Japan scholar and his writing left a strong mark on how to perceive the genre. He referred to haiku as "epigrams" and his appreciation of Japanese poetry in general appears to vary; he may see it as lacking originality, but at the same time perceive originality in its 5–7–5 rhythm. "Japanese poetry is, in every respect, a plant of native growth," he writes, but "it is merely originality in the sense of spontaneous invention, not originality in the sense of uniqueness."[6] Regarding "epigrams," Chamberlain writes, "… I venture to translate by 'Epigram,' using that term, not in the modern sense of a pointed saying, … but in its earlier acceptation, as denoting any little piece of verse that expresses a delicate or ingenious thought."[7]

After Chamberlain, haiku have often been called epigrams.[8] Miyamori Asatarō published *An Anthology of Haiku, Ancient and Modern* in 1932.[9] Miyamori begins by discussing "haiku and epigram" (Introduction I). He claims, "British and American writers call the *haiku* 'the Japanese epigram',"[10] because "generally speaking … [haiku presents] an objective description… often omitting the verb, and the poet's subjective sentiment is left to the reader's imagination," whereas "epigrams, for the most part, treat human affairs and aim chiefly at humour, cynicism and satire."[11] Miyamori clearly understood epigrams in the modern sense, and paid no heed to Chamberlain's classical view of the "epigram."

According to Crowley, Miyamori's translations have been criticized, because he gave titles to each haiku. The nature of the criticism is not further explained in the article.[12] Blyth's *Haiku* in four volumes, which began to appear in Tokyo in 1949, was an elaborate effort to translate the genre into English. He acknowledges Miyamori (1932) and Henderson (1933) as

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3 Here, I only go through some English translations, which I see as important for Swedish haiku. Crowley discusses influential haiku literature from the 1950s in U.S.A. in Crowley 2012, pp. 155–79.

4 Chamberlain 1902.

5 Chamberlain 1910.

6 Chamberlain. *Classical Poetry of the Japanese*. Oriental Series 9. London: Trübner, 1880.

7 Chamberlain 1902, p. 243.

8 An example is *A Year of Japanese Epigrams*. Translated and compiled by William N. Porter, illustrated by Kazunori Ishibashi. London: Henry Frowde, Oxford University Press, 1911. We can also find it in Blyth's *Haiku*, vol. 1. Tokyo: Kamakura Bunko, 1949.

9 Miyamori 1932.

10 Miyamori 1932, p. 14.

11 Ibid.

12 Crowley 2012, pp. 155–79. Regarding Miyamori, see p. 159. Crowley maintains that the era of haiku in the U.S. began seriously in the 1950s (p. 158). She acknowledges the importance of Miyamori's work as a scholarly forerunner, but also says that it met with criticism, though she mentions only the fact that he attached a title to each haiku as a point that met with criticism (p. 159).

his forerunners.[13] Comments on Zen, especially Bashō, abound in his *Haiku*.[14] This is another element that has long influenced the reading of haiku, especially in the United States, though not as in Sweden, as I will discuss later.

The very first introduction of haiku to Sweden most probably occurred on March 4, 1933, when Anders Österling's review of Miyamori's *Anthology of Haiku, Ancient and Modern* appeared in *Svenska Dagbladet*.[15]

The first important introduction of haiku to Sweden, Jan Vintilescu's *Haiku, Japansk miniaturlyrik* appeared in 1959.[16] Vintilescu used English, German and French translations in translating the text into Swedish, and especially used those of Miyamori, Blyth, and Bonneau.[17] After a short introduction to the history of haiku and its origin in linked poetry (*haikai no renga*), he focuses primarily on four poets: the most important poet of linked poetry during the Tokugawa period (1603–1868), Bashō (1644–94), who elevated the genre to new artistic heights; the painter and poet, Buson (1716–84), who revered Bashō some hundred years later; Issa (1763–1828), who often wrote affectionately about small creatures; and Shiki (1867–1902), a modern poet who appreciated Buson and advocated modernization of the genre. He promoted the modern concept of haiku (the 5–7–5 moras verse) as the most independent, shortest modern poetry form in the world. Vintilescu's anthology also includes one or a few poems by each of some of the other well-renowned earlier poets like Moritake (1473–1549), who is regarded as one of the founders of the genre, and, in total, presents 73 verses by different poets. In his bibliography, attached at the end, he includes works by Chamberlain,[18] Henderson, and Revon, along with Miyamori, Blyth, and Bonneau, and many other earlier and contemporary English, Japanese, French, and German authors. The bibliography gives useful insight into the wide scope of haiku literature available in Sweden in the 1950s.

The next major introduction of haiku occurred when Per Erik Wahlund translated Issa in 1978. This resulted in one of the most important publications on Issa's life and haiku until then in Nordic countries.[19] The author mentions several earlier authors as sources, among them Miyamori.[20] In my opinion, Miyamori's works served as important sources in many sections of Wahlund's writing. Wahlund begins his introduction to the history of haiku with the time of *Man'yōshū* and continues until Bashō. Along with Vintilescu's, Wahlund's introduction to the

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13 Blyth 1949, vol. I, p. xiv.

14 Blyth had previously published *Zen in English Literature and Oriental Classics* 禅と英文学. Tokyo: Hokuseidō Press, 1942. Shirane Haruo makes the same point about Blyth and Zen in *Traces of Sreams: Landscapes, Cultural Memory, and the Poetry of Bashō*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998. A section is called "Bashō and Zen." Blyth 1949, vol. I, pp. 23–29.

15 Österling 1933. Quoted in Granström 2003, pp. 5–6.

16 Vintilescu 1959, "Introduction."

17 Vintilescu 1959, p. 10.

18 Chamberlain 1902. This is the only work by Chamberlain mentioned in Vintilescu's bibliography. Otherwise, Chamberlain's *Japanese Poetry* (1910) is today a more accessible source in Sweden.

19 Wahlund 1978.

20 Miyamori 1936.

genre became a pioneering work in Sweden that spread knowledge of haiku to wider circles. Wahlund published another anthology of Issa's writing in 1981.[21]

Kai Falkman's translations of haiku, *Vårregnets berättelse* 春雨物語り, appeared in 1986.[22] His sources were Miyamori (1932) and Blyth.[23] Since then, the author has produced several volumes of haiku translations.

Among some other noteworthy works of translation is the 1998 introduction of Shiki by Thunman and Wahlund.[24] In 2003, *Haiku* by Eiko and Christer Duke came out.[25] Emond and Emond-Martinsson's *Haiku och Kamon* came out in 2004.[26] Lars Vargö's *Japanska haiku: Världens kortaste diktform* (Japanese Haiku: The Shortest Poetic form of the World), which came out in 2003, is especially important. The anthology introduced many modern haiku for the first time, and, as such, differs from earlier publications that gathered mainly classical, pre-modern haiku. It also introduced many contemporary Japanese haiku poets in Sweden for the first time. It includes haiku poets such as Nakamura Kusatao (1901–83), who tried to combine objective sketching in the spirit of Kyoshi with introspective human sentiments in haiku, and Mizuhara Shūōshi (1892–1981), who also advocated the introduction of subjectivity to the Kyoshi school's objective sketching. Some of the others introduced are free verse poets Santōka (1882–1940) and Hōsai (1885–1926).

Hōsai, the free verse modernist, was translated by Lars Granström, in a volume titled *Klockans återklang: Haiku och kortdikter/Ozaki Hōsai* (The Sound of a Bell: Haiku and Short Poems/Ozaki Hōsai) in 2010.[27] The importance of translations' role in the introduction of haiku to Sweden cannot be stressed enough. Before Swedish translations appeared, English translations served as the most important sources for information on the poetry form.

Swedish Poets and Haiku

Swedish poets started writing haiku at the end of the 1950s.[28] This time corresponds with the appearance of Swedish translations of haiku. Dag Hammarskjöld wrote 110 17-syllable poems in the autumn of 1959. Fifty of them have been translated and commented on by Falkman.[29]

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21 Wahlund 1981.

22 Falkman 1986.

23 Reginald Blyth. *A History of Haiku*. 2 vols. Tokyo: Hokuseidō Press, 1963. This was published in 1964 according to Falkman, which I could not find in NDL-OPAC.

24 Noriko Thunman and Per Erik Wahlund, eds. *Shiki: Japanska haiku-dikter för fyra årstider/Shiki Masaoka*. Helsingfors: Orienta, 1998.

25 Eiko and Christer Duke. *Haiku*. Red Alfabeta Bokförlag AB, 2003.

26 Vibeke Emond and Cecilia Emond-Martinsson. *Haiku och Kamon: Japanska miniatyrer*. Pontes, 2004.

27 Stockholm: Bambulunden.

28 Falkman 2005, p. 17; Kodama 2008, pp. 33–45.

29 Falkman 2005. Falkman relates that Harold G. Henderson's *Introduction to Haiku* (1958) was found on the bedside table of Hammarskjöld after his death. Blyth's *Haiku* vol. 2 can be found in the Dag Hammarskjöld Collection at the National Library.

Swedish poet Bo Setterlind left behind some haiku-inspired poems. Setterlind's *Några ord att fästa på* (Some Words to Put on) from 1961 is a charming publication.[30] It is a brown book made of Japanese paper and bound in a Japanese way, placed in a small box tied with a pink ribbon. The tiny publication is 43 pages long with around 20 three-line poems in it, each with titles.

Thomas Tramströmer is another poet who has written a sequence of poems referred to as haiku.[31] The members of SHA quote some of them in *Aprilsnö* and elsewhere.[32]

As in Japan, the most common characteristic of haiku writers in Sweden is that they are not poets who publish professionally. Haiku poems written by such writers appear in privately produced or small publications, which mostly pass unnoticed. There are some cases in which a short poem is referred to as haiku with no regard for haiku "poetics." When SHA arranged a haiku competition in 2003, 150 people sent in 680 haiku.[33] This approximately conveys the extent, or limits, of the active haiku community.

However, haiku has now become more widely known in Sweden through study circles, lectures at libraries and museums, and lessons in school classrooms. A haiku competition was organized in 2003 at a high school in Vesterås in cooperation with SHA, and 231 pupils sent in 230 haiku.[34] Thomas Tranströmer's haiku has been attached as an appendix to this paper to give this relatively minor publication a touch of literary authority.

A haiku anthology, gathering the haiku of ten contemporary Swedish *haijin*, was published in 2008.[35] One *haijin* is the translator of Ozaki Hōsai, the abovementioned modern Japanese free verse haiku writer from the beginning of the twentieth century, and some others had published their own and translated earlier anthologies.[36]

Members' haiku poems are published in *HAIKU*, and sometimes, poems submitted by non-members are also published. The journal is an important channel of publication for Swedish *haijin*. The Association's home page gives a short, valuable explanation of what haiku is and how to write haiku.

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[30] Setterlind 1961.

[31] Tranströmer 2004.

[32] Regarding other Swedish poets and haiku, Tommy Olofsson mentions Solveig von Schoultz and Sonja Åkesson along with Anders Österling and Bo Setterlind in his review of Andres Olsson's poetry anthology, *Ett mått av lycka* (1998), which also includes haiku. Olofsson 2008.

[33] See *HAIKU* 7 (2004).

[34] *5+5+7=HAIKU* 2003.

[35] Vargö 2008.

[36] To mention some of the ten, Granström translated Hōsai. Falkman and Vargö were already mentioned earlier. Sven Enander. *Rykande snö: Haiku*. Stockholm: Iota, 1981.

How Haiku has been Understood as a Genre: Poetic Form[37]

From the start, the brevity of haiku has attracted attention from outside Japan, in Sweden as well as elsewhere. In early haiku literature, including Miyamori's, this brevity constitutes the genre's most distinguished feature. Haiku consists of 17 syllables, divided into 5–7–5 syllable patterns (moras). It does not rhyme, but it may benefit from phonetic qualities like alliteration, onomatopoeia, and assonance.

The poetic form of haiku seems the least controversial in Sweden. There are those who believe it is important to write in 17 syllables in Swedish, but most haiku poets today do not. Both groups write three lines, but some write two. Rarely do haiku with one line consisting of one or only few words appear. The length of each line can vary, but, regardless of its length, a haiku is either 17 syllables or not. The three-line presentation has a bearing on how one reads haiku, which will be discussed later in the section on *kireji* (cut words).[38]

It is also well known in contemporary Sweden that, though using 17 moras[39] is the mainstream approach, different ideas on the forms of haiku, such as free verse haiku, have existed and still exist in Japan. Both Ozaki Hōsai and Santōka have been translated into Swedish.[40] Thus, Swedish readers and writers already know about the modernist movement in Japanese haiku.

Today, active haiku writers in Sweden have good general knowledge of haiku's origin in haikai linked poetry and its historical ties to waka tradition. They also know that the first verse of haikai linked poetry, *hokku*, has been known as haiku, an independent modern poetic form, since the Meiji era and that Masaoka Shiki played an important role in the beginning of the twentieth century.

Seasonal Words: *Kigo*

Swedish *haijin* often mention and stress the importance of *kigo* 季語 in Japanese haiku. However, this does not mean that they think *kigo* is important in Swedish haiku.

A Japanese research group published research results regarding *kigo* in *Kokusai saijiki ni okeru hikaku kenkyū: Fuyū suru shiki no kotoba* 国際歳時記における比較研究:浮遊する四季のことば in 2012.[41] The volume gives rich information about *kigo* in East Asia, Japan, the United States,

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37 I discuss here only the length of the form. Pausing (*kireji*) is treated separately later.

38 Both Chamberlain and Miyamori's work translated into two lines, with Miyamori always attaching a title to each haiku. Henderson also attached a title to each haiku and translations then took up three lines. Henderson 1958.

39 "Mora" (拍) rather than syllable is used, because "n" and double consonants (' っ ') without a vowel constitute the same rhythm unit/length as a syllable in Japanese.

40 Ozaki Hōsai. *Klockans Återklang: Haiki och kortdikter*. Translated by Lars Granström. Bambulunden, 2010. Vargö translated three haiku by Santōka. Vargö 2003.

41 Azuma and Fujiwara 2012.

Europe (i.e., France, Germany, U.K., Spain), and Brazil. The state of affairs in the U.K. and U.S. would be the most interesting, because the primary source Swedish haiku poets rely on is English literature. Takahama Kyoshi reported the total lack of understanding of *kigo* when he met haiku poets in London and Paris in 1936.[42] As their knowledge of the history of Japanese haiku and *kigo* increased, international poets belatedly began to pay more attention to *kigo*.[43]

Since the 1960s, the question of *kigo* has attracted attention in the U.S., but this does not mean that U.S. *haijin* started to use it.[44] *A Haiku Path* (1994) by the Haiku Society of America says that *kigo* is not necessary in American haiku, because of the difficulty of applying it systematically across the whole country.[45] In the U.K., interest in *kigo* seems having been rather weak, but *Eikoku saijiki* 英国歳時記 was compiled in 2004 by David Cobb, the president of the British Haiku Society.[46] Cobb points out that Japanese *kigo* is the "result of thousands of cultural experiences crystallized." He is skeptical about whether Western haiku poets are ready to wait hundreds of years to establish *kigo*-consensus.[47]

Until around the 1980s, *kigo* seems to have been mainly regarded as a convention that suppressed individual expression and creativity in both the U.S. and U.K.[48] However, the situation is changing in the U.S. In the U.S., Higginson has been a central figure in promoting *kigo* since the 1990s. Crowley is of the opinion that Higginson has contributed greatly to advancing knowledge on the nature of *kigo* and its importance in international haiku.[49]

In Sweden, the importance of *kigo* in Japanese haiku has been thoroughly acknowledged. However, Falkman writes about *kigo* in Swedish and international haiku: "Outside Japan *kigo* has never enjoyed a privileged position nor regarded obligatory for haiku."[50] This can be considered reflective of the general opinion of *kigo* in Sweden today.

Yamamoto Kenkichi maintains that *kigo* lexica, which comprise seasonal and human phenomena, express Japanese people's aesthetic consciousness.[51] Japanese *kigo*, included in various dictionaries, is an important constituent of semantic clusters of associations in haiku. *Kigo* can be seen as a carrier of poetic code, both synchronically and diachronically.

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[42] Hoshino Tsunehiko. "Kidai to seiyōjin" 季題と西洋人. In Hoshino 2002, pp. 207–209; "Kyoshi to kokusai saijiki" 虚子と国際歳時記, pp. 210–11; "Eikoku no fūdo to kigo" 英国の風土と季語, pp. 212–20.

[43] *Hawai saijiki* ハワイ歳時記 (Hawai'i Poem Calendar); Kayano Keizan 栢野桂山. "Burajiru haikai shōshi" ブラジル俳諧小史. *Yuki* 雪, January 2007. See Fujiwara Mariko. "Burajiru no saijiki" ブラジルの歳時記. In Azuma and Fujiwara 2012, pp. 386–408.

[44] Azuma and Fujiwara 2012, p. 164. See also Hoshino Tsunehiko. "Kigo to eigo haiku" 季語と英語ハイク. In Hoshino 2002, pp. 41–52.

[45] Haiku Society of America 1994. Quoted in Azuma and Fujiwara 2012, p. 168. Another important work is Higginson 1996.

[46] Sakamoto 2012, pp. 299–316. The article includes only the Japanese translation of Cobb's *Eikoku saijiki* 英国歳時記.

[47] Azuma and Fujiwara 2012, p. 315.

[48] Crowley 2012, pp. 164–70.

[49] Crowley 2012, pp. 170–77. William J. Higginson. *The Haiku Handbook: How to Write, Share, and Teach Haiku*. New York: Kōdansha International, 1985. Also see Higginson 1996.

[50] Falkman 2012, p. 60.

[51] "Maegaki" まえがき. In vol. 1 of *Saishin haiku saijiki* 最新俳句歳時記. Tokyo: Bungei Shunjū, 1971–72. Quoted in Hoshino 2002, p. 42.

Katō Shūson (1905–93) writes that *kigo* must be used with caution when describing foreign nature and phenomena. Because *kigo* per se has close ties to a "Japanese" sensibility, it can become an obstacle in expressing new kinds of "foreign" phenomena and sensitivities.[52] Shūson has Japanese haiku writers in mind, who go abroad and write haiku on their journeys. His words show the power of *kigo*, and also offer a rationale to international haiku writers reluctant to use Japanese *kigo* even in applied form.

In Sweden, poets and readers share the experience of many natural and human phenomena, but because such experiences are not encoded and systematized as *kigo*, words denoting seasons tend being more personal.

Instead of *kigo*, nature comes to the fore as the essential characteristic of haiku in Sweden. As Florence Vilén puts it, "Haiku deals with nature, and people in nature."[53]

Cut Words: *Kireji*

Kireji 切れ字 has been mentioned along with *kigo* as an important characteristic of haiku in English and Swedish haiku literature. However, this seems to be a relatively recent phenomenon. Hoshino points out that the question of *kireji* had hardly been discussed outside of Japan until the latter half of the 1980s and, in the 1990s, some English articles started appearing on the question of *kireji* for the first time.[54] Hoshino's article on *kireji* provides a survey of writings on *kireji* in the U.S. and U.K., by authors such as Blyth, Henderson, Keene, and other later authors.[55]

In Sweden, Falkman, Vargö, and Vilén have written about *kireji*, but they began doing so slightly later than U.S. and U.K. writers, beginning around 2000.[56] They have explained Japanese *kireji*, saying that *kireji* can be the use of words like "*kana*," "*ya*," "*keri*" or others to create pauses in the flow of the 17 moras in Japanese haiku. The same effect of pausing or cutting can be created in Swedish through interjections like ah, or exclamation points, hyphens, commas and full stops.

Beginning haiku writers in Japan are taught to avoid the three part form *sandan-gire* 三段切れ by using "cutting words" after each line. In contrast, Swedish *haijin* do not appear to pay special attention to cut signs. They seem more interested in "pausing" in haiku reading than in *kireji*.

For his part, Falkman seems more concerned with how to read a haiku, speaking about pausing after each line, than with *kireji* itself. His own haiku can serve as an example:

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52 Quoted in Hoshino 2002, pp. 195–96.

53 Florence Vilén. "Vad är en haiku: Egentligen?" *HAIKU* 18 (2010), pp. 8–13. The quotation appears on page 10, where she briefly addresses "nature and *kigo*." She concludes that even though some Swedish *kigo* like Christmas trees, "we in the West are less sensitive to *kigo*" (Falkman 2012, p. 16).

54 Hoshino 2002, p. 55.

55 "Kireji to eigo haiku" 切れ字と英語ハイク. In Hoshino 2002, pp. 53–74.

56 For literature on *kireji*, see Vargö (2003), Falkman (2012), and Vilén (2010).

Efter solnedgången	After the sunset
visar sig solen	shows the sun up
på måsens vingar	on the wings of a gull[57]

The first line presents the reader with an evening scene. In the second, the sun comes up again, which raises a question. In the third, the question of how the sun can come up again is answered, when sunlight is reflected on a gull's wings.[58] The open scenery of the setting sun and the reflection of sunbeams coloring a flying gull's wings may also be open to further interpretations.

Word order in haiku is not straightforward, and sentences do not have commas or other cut signs. However, Falkman posits that the three-line presentation creates a pause after each line, as *kireji* would. A reader stops, for a while, after each line, to draw a picture in his mind and fully exploit its implications.[59] Falkman's explanation suggests that the focus is not at all on *kireji*, but on the reader's response.

The same line of interpretation of the pause (cut) informs his translation of Bashō's "*Furuike ya*" (Old pond);

古池や蛙飛び込む水の音

Den gamla dammen	The old pond
En groda hoppar i	A frog jumps into
—vattnets ljud[60]	—the sound of the water

Falkman's reading clearly shows a pause after each line. In Japanese, the haiku has two parts, divided by the kireji "*ya*." The verb "*tobikomu*" ("plunging/jumping in") is then understood as a participle adjective (*rentai-kei*), qualifying the following noun "*oto*" ("sound"). However, in English translations, the verb form has been interpreted both as a participle adjective and predicative form, as the following examples show:

The old pond, aye! And the sound of a frog leaping into the water.
(Translated by B.H. Chamberlain)[61]

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[57] Falkman 2002, p. 29.

[58] Ibid. Falkman sees the reading process as consisting of three steps, the last line giving a "surprising" answer. There is also a section called the "Three steps experience" in Falkman 2012, pp. 35–40.

[59] Falkman 2012, pp. 29–34.

[60] Falkman 2012, p. 29.

[61] Quoted in Miyamori 1932, p. 132. Miyamori lists many other translations of the poem that were available at the time.

> The old pond!
> A frog leaps into—
> List, the water sound! (Translated by Noguchi Yone)[62]

Blyth, too, translated many haiku divided into three parts *sandan-gire* that had just one cut (*kireji*) in Japanese. Many times, his solution was necessary due to the linguistic differences between Japanese and English.

Falkman is a central character working with haiku today in Sweden. His opinion appears repeatedly in the members' journal *HAIKU*. In my opinion, the question of *kireji* has been translated into more semantic terms in today's Sweden, where it is referred to as a "pause of reflection," putting puts the focus on the reader's response. This partly has to do with linguistic differences, but also with the three-line presentation of haiku in Sweden.

Metaphor and Rhetorical Apparatus

Miyamori expressively stresses the importance of Nature in haiku. He also speaks of the importance of an objective stance vis-à-vis the world when writing a haiku.[63] Ego should not dominate the conversation but only be discernible behind natural phenomena described in haiku.

Similar to Miyamori, who stressed the objective nature of haiku, Falkman often stresses the importance of avoiding subjective explanation in haiku. He proposes as the definition of haiku:

> Haiku is a short poem, composed of concrete pictures that render the essence of an experience of Nature or human situation.[64]

Concrete elements and occurrences are important haiku motifs. Falkman, along with other members of SHA, repeatedly points out that reasoning and explanations should be avoided in haiku. Likewise, the personification of natural phenomena, metaphors, comparisons, and paraphrasing should be avoided. The descriptions and situations themselves must give readers clues to find the hidden meanings in a haiku.

On this point, Swedish haiku poets completely agree with the Japanese haiku poets who advocate "sketching" as the essential method of creation. Shiki and Kyoshi represent this group, which has remained one of the most influential haiku groups in Japan even into the present.[65]

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[62] Miyamori 1932, p. 133. He quotes many other translations of the same haiku.

[63] Miyamori 1932, p. 7.

[64] Falkman 2012, p. 16.

[65] Today, they are gathered into the Nihon Dentō Haiku Kyōkai 日本伝統俳句協会 (Association of Japanese Classical Haiku). Around 1914, Ogihara Seisensui and Nakatsuya Ippekirō started the free-verse haiku movement. Magazines like *Sōun* and *Kaikō* began appearing. Ozaki Hōsai and Santōka, who wrote in free verse, started their careers in *Sōun*.

The reader is expected to decode while reading to fully grasp the meaning of each haiku. Most of the Swedish haiku poems included in *Aprilsnö* (2000) fit the conception of the genre, reflecting the redactors' idea of the objectivity/concreteness of haiku.

Aprilsnö is, as mentioned previously, an anthology of haiku by one hundred Japanese and Swedish poets, including both Japanese and Swedish originals and translations. The following examples from *Aprilsnö* demonstrate this "objective" stance. The English versions are my translations:

Med vattenspannen	With a water bucket
följde	followed
vårvattens måne	the moon of the spring water
(Roland Persson)	

水おけの水に浮かべたはるの月 [66]

In the Swedish original, the verb "followed" conveys the movement, whereas the scenery is entirely static in the Japanese version. The Japanese version describes the image of the moon reflected on the surface of water in a barrel, but, in the original, this is a smaller bucket that can be carried by one hand. Without giving any explanation and by simply describing settings for the reader, the haiku provides a suggestive and poetic picture of a working person, walking under the spring moon.

Hem från akuten,	Home from the hospital,
över huset fullmåne	the full moon over the house
och snö på träden	and snow on the trees
(Florence Vilen)	

退院す満月かかる木々の雪 [67]

The Swedish version does not include a verb, but the situation (back home from the hospital) and what meets the person who comes home; the full moon and snow on the trees. In the Swedish version, the person, having been acutely ill, returns home after treatment at the hospital. In the Japanese version, the person comes home after staying for some time at the hospital. This seems a good example of the objective aesthetics of haiku in Sweden:

[66] Svensson and Falkman et al. 2000, p. 37.
[67] Svensson and Falkman et al. 2000, p. 94. See note 66. The English translation is mine.

Hotfulla generationer	Generations
av släktdrag	of menacing family traits
i mitt orakade spegelansikte	in my unshaved face in a mirror
(Lars Vargö)	

累代の凶相鏡中無精髭 [68]

Both the Swedish original and the Japanese translation consist only of nouns and noun phrases. All descriptive surpluses are cut off, and there remains just the mirror with the reflection of an unshaven face on it, burdened by "generations of menacing family traits." The picture of an unshaven face is dark, but the haiku could also suggest a sigh of resignation or, perhaps, a sense of humor. Its condensed style makes it a good model of Sweden's haiku aesthetics.

In another haiku anthology, *Ljudlöst stiger gryningen* (2008), which includes haiku by ten Swedish haiku poets, the same appreciation of concreteness can be found. All poems in the anthology are in Swedish, and the English and Japanese versions below are my translations. One haiku reads:

Den där grodan	The frog
Andas och glor på mig	breathing with the whole body
Med hela kroppen.	glares at me.
(Sven Enander)[69]	

我を見る蛙ふんばり息をすう

A frog and the poet stare at each other, the frog's belly moving up and down while it breathes with "the whole body." The scene is somewhat humorous. In the haiku, the frog is glaring at the poet, but the poet's gaze on the frog conveys to the reader the poet's posture vis-à-vis small living beings and nature in general. Perhaps because Bashō's "*Furuike ya*" and Issa's haiku both reference frogs, frogs became poetic creatures for Swedish *haijin*, too. There is an echo of Issa's haiku in Enander's.

Another haiku about frogs in the anthology reads:

Stannar i mörkret på stigen	Standing still on the path at night
överallt prasselet	all around
av grodor	the rustling of frogs
(Paul Wigelius)[70]	

カサコソと蛙小道の闇に満つ

[68] Svensson and Falkman et al. 2000, p. 123. See note 66. The English translation is mine.
[69] Vargö 2008, p. 31.
[70] Vargö 2008, p. 173. English and Japanese versions are mine.

Frogs appear in nature in Sweden in late spring or the beginning of summer. In Japan, the frog is *kigo* for spring. It is not clear that the poet uses "frogs" as *kigo* for spring here. It seems that the season the haiku is set in is rather late summer, perhaps August or September, because it is dark. In August, nights become darker.

Another haiku that includes a sympathetic scene reads:

Under olivträdet —	Under the Olive tree —
en herrelös hund och jag	no one's dog and I
delar skuggan	sharing the shadow
(Paul Wigelius)[71]	

オリーブの影分かちあうのらと我

Here, "I" may be a traveler in Italy or Spain. He seeks shade under an olive tree with a stray dog. This haiku conveys warmth, and warmth is felt throughout the scene though not expressed by any adjective or descriptive terms.

In all of the above-quoted haiku, nothing is explained and interpretation is the reader's task.

The same principle of objectivity in haiku can be observed in the choice of the haiku published in the members' journal, *HAIKU*, as well as in many of the haiku included in the Swedish anthology, *Ljudlöst stiger gryningen*.

Swedish haiku anthologies, among them both *Aprilsnö* and *Ljudlöst stiger gryningen*, show in their prefaces and above all in their selection of poems that the poetics of haiku in Sweden closely resemble the traditional Shiki/Kyoshi-school's "objective sketching" approach. Inner depth should be reached through the suggestive power of language, and never through metaphors, comparisons, aphorism, paraphrasing, or personification. Good haiku is always built up around concrete things and real events.

Human Situation

In his definition of haiku, Falkman writes, "haiku renders in concrete pictures the essential in the experience of nature and *human situation*."[72] "Human situation" can refer, in my opinion, even to a man's feelings and reflections. Falkman's definition seems not to completely condemn the expression of a poet's feelings and thoughts, i.e. subjectivity, when this is done in the right way. The following exemplify such expression:

[71] Vargö 2008, p. 164. English and Japanese versions are mine.
[72] Falkman 2012, p. 16. Italics are mine.

svarta vinterkväll[73]	dark winter night
över axeln läser du	over my shoulder you read
min oskrivna dikt	a poem yet to be written
(Niklas Törnlund)[74]	

冬の夜君肩越しに何を読む

Personal pronouns should normally be avoided in haiku. Here, however, the tone is personal: "you" and "my" are used. The adjective "oskrivna" (not-yet-written) is difficult to translate in the Japanese version. Translations are too long to be contained in 17 syllables.

Inne i skogen	In the forest
glest mellan människorna	among so few people
har tanken sin gang	has thought its own way
(Carl-Erik Wiberg)[75]	

森歩く人影なくて想いあり

The abstract word "tanken" (thought) and the rational tone can be regarded as less appropriate to the traditional haiku school. As such, this verse may be closer to aphorism than haiku. However, contrasting people and thought, it gives a sympathetic picture in which we can recognize our own walks in the forest.

Another example in *Aprilsnö* reads:

Hör suset av regn	Listen to the murmur of the rain
Jag viskar en hemlighet	I whisper a secret
för att nå in dit	to reach in there
(Thomas Tranströmer)[76]	

春雨に響きあわせぬ我が秘密[77]

The original and Japanese versions seem especially divergent in this case. The Japanese version reads, "My secret gives a dissonance to the spring rain." The agent "I" in the original does not "whisper" in the Japanese to "reach in there." Normally, using just one verb is recommended

[73] According to the original, "svarta" is plural.
[74] *HAIKU* 22 (2012), p. 28. Japanese and English translations of the poems quoted from *HAIKU* are mine.
[75] *HAIKU* 22 (2012), p. 8.
[76] The original is in Tramströmer 2004. Also in Svensson and Falkman et al. 2000, p. 32.
[77] Svensson and Falkman et al. 2000, p. 32.

in Japanese haiku. The example shows that, in this case, two verbs may have been too much to incorporate into the Japanese 17 mora-form. The original is beautiful, personal, highly subjective, and open to different readings.

Swedish haiku writers have already progressed their art to the point of modern Japanese haiku, where subjectivity is no longer categorically banned. The haiku of Japanese poet, Harako Kōhei, quoted in *Aprilsnö*, reads:

灰皿に小さな焚火して人を恋う

På askfatet	On an ashtray
tänder jag en liten brasa	I start a small fire
en inbjudan[78]	an invitation[79]

This haiku expresses the poet's inner sentiments, solitude, and vague longing. This is done beautifully through the combination of "ashtray" and "fire," and the rather prosaic, worn out phrase "I long for you" (actually it refers to a human being, "人," in an abstract manner). This haiku demonstrates that Japanese haiku has transformed to correspond with changing times.

Another modern Japanese haiku reads:

はなはみないのちのかてとなりにけり　（森アキ子）

This haiku also appears in *Aprilsnö*. It can be translated to

All kinds of flowers, ah, they have nourished me, nurtured me.[80]

Here, no "concrete" things appear; the word "flowers" refers to the general category of flowers, and "life" (いのち) is also abstract. The *kireji* "*keri*" is the most important element in this haiku; it stresses the emotional echo of the past, while at the same time giving the reader the sense of the poet's strong will. The transcription in hiragana gives the line a more musical character, because the reader must/tends to pronounce each hiragana, instead of reading a line with the eyes (as is more often the case when lines contain Chinese characters and compounds, *jukugo*). This vocal element may contribute to making this poem less abstract. When written 花は皆命の糧となりにけり, the line has too rational a ring. This haiku, too, is an example of how haiku in Japan can so closely correspond with modern poetry, playing with different writing systems.

Another haiku without *kigo* reads:

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[78] Svensson and Falkman et al. 2000, p. 205.

[79] This haiku was quoted in Japanese and Swedish translations in Svensson and Falkman et al. 2000, p. 205. Unless otherwise stated, haiku translations to English are mine.

[80] Svensson and Falkman et al. 2000, p. 231. In Swedish translation it reads: Blomsamlingen, / min färdkost / för hela livet.

目覚めけり青きなにかを握りしめ　　(沼尻巳津子)[81]

Awakened
gripping hard something blue
in the hand

"Wake up" is the only concrete, everyday occurrence in this haiku. "Something blue" is abstract, like the haiku's whole latter part. Perhaps it conveys hope that a newly awakened being could grasp something from a dream. Here, too, the cut word "*keri*" gives the whole line a forceful tone.

Senryū deals with human life and such subject matter that deal with human and social motifs with humorous, ironic, or comical undertone has been introduced in Sweden. Some examples read:

åter omkörd　　again passed
av en barnvagn　　by a baby buggy
i joggingspåret　　on the jogging track
(Helga Härle)

ジョッギングまた乳母車に追い越され[82]

Världskartans　　The world map's
vita fläckar　　white stains
smälter.　　Melt.
(Hans Boij)

世界地図白いシミは溶けてゆき[83]

In so many examples of Swedish haiku poems, pronouns play an important role in expressing a personal voice. Sometimes, they come too close to aphorism (a small, sometimes ironic, truth of human nature), and other times to the humor or ironical criticism of senryū. As in Japan, haiku in Sweden shows the shifting character of aesthetics and poetics.

[81] Svensson and Falkman et al. 2000, p. 232. In Swedish: Vid uppvaknandet / håller jag något blått / hårt i handen.
[82] *HAIKU* 21 (2011), p. 27. English and Japanese translations of the poems quoted from *HAIKU* are mine.
[83] *HAIKU* 21 (2011), p. 12.

Surprise in Haiku

Before 2012, Falkman had written in several places that a haiku, when it has a strong impact, consists of two parts: the first introducing things or occurrences, and the second giving expression to something unexpected. He defines haiku as follows:

> Haiku tries to render an experience, which is transformed in some way in the following line, to finally give an unexpected effect and lasting poetic sentiment.[84]

In Swedish, he calls the effect that of "överraskning," i.e., surprise/shock.[85] Överrasknings poesi*: Upplevelser av haiku* (The Poetry of "Surprise": Haiku Experiences) is the title of his latest book on haiku which appeared in 2012.

What Falkman means by "surprise" corresponds to *niku-isshō* 二句一章 (two phrases one sentence), or *nibutsu-shōgeki* 二物衝撃 (shock created by combining two unexpected things), which are regarded as important rhetorical apparatuses in Japanese haiku. Haiku written as "two phrases one sentence" have a *kireji*, cutting the haiku into two parts. The pause may be after the first 5 or after the 5–7 syllables. More generally, the technique is called *tori-awase/haigō* 取り合わせ/配合 (combination), a technique equivalent to the in modern montage approach.[86]

Vargö quotes American haiku poet Henderson and Cor van den Heuvel in giving earlier examples of haiku definitions.[87] It is interesting to see how Vargö defines the traits of haiku and its most important aspects. He writes,

> It should in a way be divided in two parts, which strengthens the effect of surprise, desired by many haiku poets.[88]

Henderson also writes about "the principle of internal comparison" in his *Introduction to Haiku*, which is another translation of Japanese *niku-isshō*, two different parts that comprise one haiku.[89]

An example may read:

> 鰯雲人に告ぐべきことならず　　(加藤楸邨)[90]
>
> Sardine clouds, this I can never tell anyone

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[84] Falkman 2012, p. 16.
[85] One example is *HAIKU* 17 (2009), pp. 28–29.
[86] Ishi et al. 1995, pp. 81–82.
[87] Vargö 2003, pp. 20–22.
[88] Vargö 2003, p. 23.
[89] Henderson 1958, Chapter three "Bashō." Quoted in Hoshino 2002, pp. 59–60.
[90] About Shūson, see Gendai Haiku Kyōkai 現代俳句協会, http://www.weblio.jp/content/ (last accecced July 20, 2012). English translation is mine.

Sardine clouds are cirrocumuli, a *kigo* of autumn. The sky is high, covered by thin cirrocumuli, which are patterned like mackerels scales, seldom cover the whole sky, and allow light to come through. In short, cirrocumuli in no way give a dark, oppressive impression. Their varied yet regular pattern may compel recollections and introspection, almost nostalgia. The time, daytime or evening, is not specified, but, looking at the sardine clouds, the poet's mind goes back to his own concerns; he has a secret he cannot tell anyone. This combination of sardine clouds and a secret gives the secret a somewhat mundane yet still enhanced effect, just like the cirrocumuli that catch the eye and invite one to lose oneself in dreaming. Shūson belonged to the group of modern haijin who regarded haiku as poetry suited to expressing one's own inner life. In the quoted haiku, he uses the established rhetoric of the combination of two unrelated things to create a poetic effect while also making a purely subjective statement. *Kigo* plays an important role as a point of departure for such combination and correspondences.[91]

A contrasting technique is referred to as *ichibutsu-jitate/ikku-isshō* 一物仕立て/一句一章 (one motif one *ku*). One example of this is by Kyoshi:

帚木に影というものありにけり[92]

Now I know that gooseweeds have shadows

In the Shinano region, common belief held that a gooseweed (goosefoot) resembles a broom from afar, but, when one comes near, it disappears. It was also believed that when one tries to come near a person one loves, the person disappears like a goosefoot. One chapter in *The Tale of Genji* is entitled "Hahakigi" (goosefoot), which relates to the story of "Utsusemi," who disappears when prince Genji wishes to be with her.[93] Given this heritage, Hahakigi can be considered a highly literary weed, but one day when Kyoshi looked at the weeds closely and saw shadows behind them. Shadows existed behind weeds that become invisible according to folk belief. Thus, Kyoshi turned upside down the commonly believed, thousand year old "truth" by the power of realistic observation, *shasei* 写生, as Bōjō puts it.[94]

Kyoshi's haiku lies far from the modern, Romantic conception of poetry, where subjective feelings and thoughts constitute the core theme.

Because haiku is short, each word weighs heavily. It is important to use the suggestive power of contrasting images to give haiku deeper resonances and meanings. It seems more challenging

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[91] This is the sense of analogy the French Symbolists referred to when using the term.

[92] One chapter in *The Tale of Genji* is titled "Hahakigi" 帚木 (goosefoot): goosefoot, a kind of weed with leaves in the shape of a goose's foot.

[93] Bōjō Toshiki 坊城俊樹. "Takahama Kyoshi no hyakku o yomu" 高濱虚子の 100 句を読む. http://www.izbooks.co.jp/kyoshi64.html (last accessed July 18, 2012).

[94] Ibid. The same line from Yamamoto Kenkichi's comment is also quoted. Unless a reader possessed knowledge of old Shinano folk belief, the haiku would say nothing, or very little, to him or her. This kind of intertexuality was at the core of the rhetorical methodology of haikai, which Kyoshi seems to follow here.

to create haiku that includes just one aspect and one situation. To make his work interesting, Kyoshi leans heavily on literary tradition and folk belief.

Today, "internal comparison," or *niku-isshō*, constitutes the most important approach to haiku poetics in Sweden. However, in Sweden, it is merely a rhetorical matter without any connection to *kireji*. In Japan, "two verse" (*niku* 二句) means "cut in two by *kireji*" and cannot be separated from *kireji*.

Haiku Moment

In American haiku literature, one often encounters the expression "haiku moment," which has become a key term of the genre. Hoshino gave a rich survey on the use of the term in the U.S.[95] According to Hoshino, the origin of the term goes back to Blyth, possibly back to Chamberlain. It is about the privileged moment at which a poet comes to understand that which is essential in life. Blyth's strong penchant for Zen comes immediately to mind behind perceptions of this kind. Hoshino points out that Blyth's choice of the word "this moment" played a crucial role in building up the emphasis on "haiku moment" in American literature. When he translated Bashō's word 今日, meaning literally "today," Blyth chose to translate it as "this moment."[96]

In Sweden, too, literature occasionally mentions the "privileged moment," but not that frequently and without special emphasis on Zen. A distant echo of the "haiku moment" may be heard in the Swedish conception of "surprises" (överaskningar). Falkman's definition of haiku reads:

> Haiku tries to render an experience, which is transformed in some way in the following line, to finally give an unexpected effect and lasting poetic sentiment.[97]

"Unexpected effect" is, as I understand it, not so much about a moment of instantaneous, Zen-like revelation of the truth, but more about the technique of combining two unexpected matters to create the effect of surprise *tori-awase*. Instead of a Zen-like moment of truth, concreteness and "objective suggestiveness" is at the core of Haiku poetics in Sweden.

Perhaps this can be explained by the fact that Swedish haiku emerged much later than in U.S. SHA was established as late as 1999. Some Swedish haiku poets studied the Japanese language, and some had direct connections to Japanese haiku poets. The Internet offered various channels for haiku poets to make contact. In short, Swedish *haijin* had many more opportunities to get to know different currents in haiku writing, both in Japan, the U.S., and

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[95] Hoshino 2002, pp. 15–21, 24–40.

[96] Bashō's words are quoted by Tohō in *Sanzōshi*: "Haikai deals only with today, what you have before your eyes." Today 今日, was translated to "this moment" by Blyth. Hoshino 2002, pp. 26–27.

[97] Falkman 2012, p. 16.

Europe. This may explain why Swedish haiku poetics so closely correlate with the Japanese conception of the genre, both with the traditional school of Kyoshi's objective sketching and also others who see haiku as a poetic form for expressing human feelings.

Conclusion

Swedish haiku poets began translating Japanese haiku mainly through English, but sometimes, through French and German. The first good anthology of Swedish haiku translations appeared in 1959. However, a haiku community large enough to warrant attention seems not to have existed in Sweden until around 2000.[98]

The Swedish understanding of the genre has much in common with that of American haiku poets. Miyamori, Blyth, Henderson, Yasuda and, later, Higginson, and others have served as important sources of haiku knowledge of haiku. In particular, Miyamori's significance is worth stressing. As mentioned earlier, one of the most important sources, if not the most important, for Wahlund was Miyamori's work (1932). Haiku in the U.S. provided rich references for Swedish *haijin*, but Swedish *haijin* have shown little interest, compared to Americans, in Zen and the "haiku moment." Only a distant echo of this can be heard in the word "surprise" that the Swedish *haijin* advocate in their approach to haiku.

In Japan, what haiku is and should be has been a topic of discussion since the time of Masaoka Shiki. The discussion spans from today back to the time of Bashō, and even further back, when definitions of haiku poetics were already being sought.

Outside of Japan and in Sweden, haiku has, in the first place, served as a foreign, exotic form of poetry. Especially because of its alien identity, the need to define the genre has felt urgent. Conclusions that Swedish *haijin* have reached in terms of haiku definitions correlate quite closely with the Japanese perceptions of the genre: both recognize the importance of concrete descriptions and occurrences; letting these convey meaning without the help of metaphor, paraphrasing, or rational explanations; using the technique of combination and the shock the two parts generate when joined in a haiku.[99]

Japanese modernists' haiku and some of their work have been introduced in Sweden. This knowledge of the modernist movement in Japanese haiku may partly explain Swedish haiku poets' rather liberal stance vis-à-vis form. That the lines embody poetic quality is deemed more important than adhering to the 17-syllable form. Regarding content, Swedish *haijin* draw a line between haiku and senryū, the former built up by natural phenomena and the latter by focusing on human beings and society and treating them in ironic or humorous ways. However, they

[98] Some anthologies of poems titled "haiku" appeared in Sweden before 2000. But most of them had very little to do with Japanese haiku except the three-line form.

[99] Shock, however, tends to be explained in terms of surprise that the three steps effect rather than in terms of "two phrases in one sentence" (*niku-isshō*), as we have seen in the section regarding *kireji*.

qualify this approach by acknowledging that it is sometimes difficult to draw a line between these aspects.

Also important to note is that various channels are open today that were not in previous eras. Swedish haiku poets travel to Japan to participate in haiku contests and conferences. International Haiku Conferences convene in Europe and Japan, promoting direct contact between Swedish and Japanese *haijin*, as well as other international haiku poets. The Japanese interest in the internationalization of haiku dates back to 1989, when the Haiku International Association was established. The interest in getting to know each other appears to be mutual today.

Do international and Japanese haiku belong to the same genre? Hoshino wrote Japanese haiku "俳句," but began writing international haiku "ハイク" ten years ago.[100] This choice shows that the two are considered close, but not identical. Differences lie mainly in the status of *kigo* and *kireji*. Swedish *haijin* define the genre using wording identical to the Japanese regarding the objectivity and concreteness of language in haiku, but they do not accord the same importance to *kigo* and *kireji*.

Even translated into different languages, Goethe belongs to the canon of world literature. In the same way, Bashō belong to the classical canon of haiku for international *haijin*. Is it meaningful to say that Bashō in Swedish is not really Bashō? Despite cultural and linguistic differences and obstacles, literary works have always traversed cultural boundaries and come to be loved and cherished by different people and to take root in diverse places. Hoshino's suggestion that the genre should be seen as a tree with various branches, Japanese and international, without necessarily seeing the Japanese as the trunk, provides a sympathetic picture of the genre.[101]

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[101] Hoshino 2002, pp. 312–13.

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Globalization in Japan: The Case of Moral Education

Marie H. Roesgaard

Since the time of Socrates, youth around the world have been considered a disappointment to the older generation. Around 450 B.C., Socrates lamented the young generation's love for luxury, lack of respect, laziness, and bad behavior. Since the beginning of time, older generations have considered the younger generations as problematic, and Japan is no exception. In 1958, Osada Arata, President of the Japan Pedagogical Society, analyzed this seemingly eternal conflict:

> According to [proponents of the morals courses], children have bad manners, speak impolitely, are egoistic and selfish, do not listen to their parents or teachers, are immodest and lack self-criticism and introspection. But the reason that the critics are making such an outcry is that they are measuring today's children with yesterday's yardstick…. The members of the older generation…are too quick to equate the idea of ethics with the outmoded forms of loyalty and filial piety pursued in the pre-war period. (Osada in Marshall 1994: 179)

Osada hints at the assumed loss of pre-war values in Japan, but the criticism he voices on the part of the older generation is remarkably similar to what Socrates pointed out in classical times, and countless after him: self-centeredness, lack of modesty and respect, and bad manners. Raising well-behaved children is one of the most important tasks of parents and educational institutions who try to impart on their charges the moral upbringing they find suitable for society. Although Osada's argument, that lamentations over the state of the youth of today are based on outmoded ethics is quite valid, it is also true that much of the discourse on morality and moral education assumes, as its point of departure, problems with the way things are at the time at which the discourse takes place.

In today's world, moral education does not merely exist on the national level. Globalization poses new challenges to any country and its ideas of identity and morality. This study attempts to trace one aspect of the global influence on Japanese education by using moral education as a case.

I propose to examine the contents of moral education as a reaction to (1) the challenges faced due to globalization, (2) the risks associated with modern globalized society, and (3) the anxiety born out of the challenges, both "real" or "imagined," perceived to be posed by globalization. A productive starting point would be to study initiatives where moral education

functions as "gate-keeping," where those in a position of influence try to safeguard what is considered basic and inalienable in Japanese culture and morality while also adapting to global currents that cannot be ignored. I also contend that global influence is not a new aspect of moral education in Japan. I will provide a short historical overview of the development of formalized moral education since the Meiji era, and I will focus on the use of the "great person" approach, which implies the use of moral icons as examples for pupils to emulate.[1] In particular, I will study the publications of the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (MEXT)—*Kokoro no nōto*—for their use of moral icons.

A Short History of Moral Education in Japan

Moral education, known as *shūshin*[2] before World War II, was prominent in Japanese education since its formalization in the Meiji era. During the Meiji Restoration (1868), education functioned under the slogan "Rich Country, Strong Military" (*fukoku kyōhei*), and it fulfilled two purposes: One was to educate the human resources necessary for Japan to excel as a modern country; and the other was to aid in the cultivation of a national consciousness, "the Japanese," implying a unification of the inhabitants of the Japanese archipelago that had not existed under the previous feudal system, which was dominated by relatively autonomous domains, each with individual "national" identities (Kaizuka 2009: 24–25).[3] This unification would have been quite an arduous task for, as Todorov remarks, it is common for schools to become places where children learn to recognize themselves as having a common past, but this is a problem where no common past existed previously (Todorov 2010 [2008]: 73)—as indeed was the case in Japan at the time.

In the beginning, as expected, it was unclear on what Japanese morality—as taught in schools—should be based. Unlike the case in Europe or the Middle East, Japan did not have one common religion; therefore, there were discussions on whether Confucianism or Western modernization ideals should be the basis for constructing the Japanese national morality (Kaizuka 2009: 25). In the beginning, a combination of both seemed to be the choice. This has been described by Wray (2000: 15–16) as follows:

> The original motivation for offering the course came from Meiji leaders deciding that Japanese parents, Shintoism and Buddhism, unlike Western parents and Christianity, did not adequately teach the public ethics and morality essential for order, harmony, national unity and loyalty to the emperor. Filling the vacuum meant offering moral education

[1] This approach has been extensively analyzed by, for example, Ampiah in his article on the use of the example of Noguchi Shika, mother of microbiologist Nogochi Hideyo, in Japanese textbooks.

[2] Titles and Japanese expressions (excluding names) are in italics to prevent confusion.

[3] All translations from Japanese sources are made by the author.

> courses to elementary school students and Western and Eastern models of good behaviour like Confucius, Shotoku Taishi, Benjamin Franklin, Socrates, George Washington, Ninomiya Sontoku and Florence Nightingale, the "great person" approach to social studies common at the time in Western schooling.[4]

Initially, from 1872 onward, *shūshin* was only taught to first and second grade students in elementary school for two hours per week; it was, if anything, considered the least important subject. Many of the textbooks used were translations of Western textbooks such as the British *The Moral Class Book*,[5] translated by none other than the famed educationalist Fukuzawa Yukichi, and the American *Elements of Moral Science*[6] or Aesop's fables. The "Westernization and modernization," or "globalization," if you will, of Japanese education at the time is clearly identifiable (Tanaka 2010: 4–5; Kaizuka 2009: 26; Iizuka 2009: 155).[7] This also explains the use of Western models of behavior, as described by Wray above. The "great person" approach of the time reflects a mixture of native and Western approaches in its mixed selection of Japanese, Chinese, and Western moral icons.

With the passage of time, *shūshin* gained recognition as an important subject in schools. Tanaka and Kaizuka both explain how those in power became increasingly worried that the flow of foreign ideas into Japanese education was not useful in people's everyday life and that it could endanger the national identity of the Japanese. The counter measure was increased emphasis on Confucian values and the relatedness of the individual to the nation (*kokka to no tsunagari* in Japanese) (Tanaka 2010: 6–7; Kaizuka 2009: 27; Iizuka 2009: 116; Passin 1965: 226–28). This approach became entrenched with the issue of the Imperial Rescript on Education (*Kyōiku chokugo*) in 1890 (Kaizuka 2009: 27; Iizuka 2009: 117; Marshall 1994: 54–58). From then on, the Rescript came to be revered in schools alongside the Imperial portrait, becoming the foundational document of education in Japan. As such, it influenced the instructions provided by the Ministry of Education for all subjects, but especially for *shūshin* and related subjects like religious education, which was prohibited in an instruction from the Ministry in 1899. This prohibition was effected for Buddhism and Christianity, but not for Shinto, which was not considered a religion (Kaizuka 2009: 30–31; Iizuka 2009: 118).[8] National interest and the Emperor were clearly fundamental to the thinking behind *shūshin*, which was a reflection of on-going nation building at the time.

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4 Kaizuka (2009, p. 32) also mentions this "great person" or moral models approach; his examples are Ninomiya Sontoku, Kusunoki Masashige, Lincoln, and Florence Nightingale.

5 Tanaka does not state this explicitly, but it appears to be by William Sullivan, published in 1831.

6 This was probably the work authored by Francis Wayland in 1935.

7 Marshall states that textbooks directly translated from the French were the most widely used. Apart from noting that they emphasized respect for the Christian God and the Second Republic, Marshall does not elaborate on the content or the authors (Marshall 1994, p. 31). I have not found any references to this in my other sources, except that Aesop's fables may have been translated from French copies.

8 A detailed account of the contents of textbooks at the time can be found in Karasawa (1989 [1955]).

Although a variety of globally influential political ideas naturally also influenced thinking in certain circles in Japan, particularly during what is sometimes known as the "Taishō Democracy" (Taishō period, 1912–26), growing fascism during the 1930s and increasingly harsh repercussions toward teachers[9] considered to have a "bad influence" over children finally weeded out any liberal thinking in Japanese moral education; this left nationalist thinking along the lines of the document "Fundamentals of Our National Polity" (*Kokutai no hongi*, 1937)[10] supreme in the realm of moral education (Tanaka 2010: 16–25).

Most researchers like Kaizuka and Tanaka do not go into any detail about war-time moral education in Japan; however, we do find statements like the following, describing the general state of *shūshin* in wartime Japan:

> There can be no doubt that the policy of the wartime Japanese government was to utilize moral education classes for the explicit goal of total political subjugation of the Japanese people. (Hoffman 1999: 91)

After World War II, it became a commonly accepted fact by most in the establishment that *shūshin* had indeed played a role in manipulating the Japanese psyche, and it was therefore removed from the curriculum for revamping. It reappeared in September 1958 as "moral education class hours" (*dōtoku no jikan*). This reappearance met with criticism and resistance, particularly from the teachers' organization (Nihon Kyōshokuin Kumiai) and the Communist Party; however, the Ministry of Education remained firm, and moral education has been on the curriculum ever since (Kaizuka 2009: 57–59).

Moral education differs from other subjects as there are no authorized textbooks for it, making it impossible to regulate through curriculum guidelines (Sugihara 2007: 14). It is not a subject (*kyōka*) in its own right which, in practice, means that there is no examination related to the lessons taught (Kaizuka 2009: 55–56). Based on recommendations from the Central Council on Education (Chūkyōshin) in 2008, curricular revisions of the moral education curriculum were carried out. Revisions emphasized major ideals like "the zest to live" (*ikiru chikara*); the value of balancing knowledge and skills with the ability to contemplate, evaluate, and express oneself; and the value of a rich mind and a sound body (MEXT 2008: 1). The revised *Kokoro no nōto* from 2009 therefore, will form the basis of my later analysis. First, though, it is important to discuss the issue of globalization.

[9] A particularly famous example of this is the Nagano incident in 1933, where 600 teachers were investigated by the police, and 208 were arrested and found guilty of having a bad influence (*aku eikyō*) and dismissed (Tanaka 2010, p. 25; Wilson 2002, p. 137).

[10] The objective was to establish an orthodox interpretation of the national essence for the Japanese people, and this stands out as a clear articulation of the official ideology of a nation on the brink of war. See, for example, Doak (2007, pp. 110–13).

Globalization and Cosmopolitanism

The term "globalization" is in extremely wide circulation today, so I shall attempt to infuse the concept of globalization with new meanings by linking it to cosmopolitanism, thereby hopefully arriving at a working definition that will be useful for detecting signs of the globalization discourse in *Kokoro no nōto*, and in particular, the use of moral icons therein.

For years, the term "globalization" has been closely associated with economic processes, wherein globalization processes are easily identifiable. Horio Teruhisa, a long-time researcher of education and educational ideology, states that globalization reveals itself to be primarily "related to the expansion in the world of an economy based on multinational companies, media, high technology and financial assets, … revolving around the United States and predicated on the world hegemony of American values …, American politics and economy" (Horio 2005: 58). Yet, in terms of issues such as global consciousness and responsibility and emotional responses, these economically based interpretations of globalization do not produce any evidence *per se* of the existence of globalization, except perhaps in terms of the fear of losing one's job to low-wage workers from other parts of the world.

The famous definition of globalization by Roland Robertson is very often the starting point of culture-oriented approaches to globalization; according to Robertson, globalization "refers both to the compression of the world and the intensification of the consciousness of the world as a whole" (Robertson 1992: 8). Then, if we are to understand *Kokoro no nōto* and the values it promotes in terms of culture-oriented globalization, an analysis of the contents of *Kokoro no nōto* should focus on finding traces of influence of this globalization discourse in statements pertaining to, for example, a "world consciousness," other cultures, relations to populations in other countries (hereunder also assistance in times of disaster), international development, peace, and the environment, as well as references to international phenomena and non-Japanese individuals. According to Robertson, while the possible existence of such a world or global consciousness may sound exceedingly homogenizing, it does not necessarily imply the formation of an uncritically accepted, singular "world identity," or an "Americanized identity," which scholars such as Horio seem to fear. Yet another feature of globalization does in fact function as a counterbalance:

> In an increasingly globalized world there is a heightening of civilizational, societal, ethnic, regional and, indeed individual, self-consciousness. There are constraints on social entities to locate themselves within world history and the global future. Yet globalization in and of itself also involves the diffusion of the *expectation* of such identity declarations. (Robertson 1992: 27)

In addition to the demand of locating oneself within world history and being in thrall of a perceived global future, a consciousness of regional, ethnic, and civilizational identity is also a

feature of globalization, specifically inviting and expecting clear statements and declarations of identity. Todorov points to the dual event of transformation via, for example, what we perceive as globalization and defensiveness with regard to our identity:

> The contemporary period, during which collective identities are called on to transform themselves more and more quickly, is thus the period in which groups are adopting an increasingly defensive attitude, and fiercely demanding their original identities. (Todorov 2010 [2008]: 57)

In Robertson and Todorov's views, statements of ethnic and regional identity are clearly invited or provoked by challenges like globalization; however, globalization also means that individuals and groups of individuals are expected to locate themselves within world history and relate to a global future.[11]

I would now like to introduce the concept of "cosmopolitanism" to the discussion on globalization and *Kokoro no nōto*. Appiah suggests that we use the term "cosmopolitanism" rather than the now well-worn term "globalization." To him, cosmopolitanism is influenced by two ideals—universal concern and respect for legitimate difference:

> [W]e have obligations to others, obligations that stretch beyond those to whom we are related by the ties of kith and kind, or even formal ties of citizenship. … [W]e take seriously the value not just of human life but of particular human lives…. (Appiah 2006: xiii)

Appiah argues the existence of certain universal values that govern our interactions with strangers. A cosmopolitan person in Appiah's view knows that people are different, and that there is much to be learned and gained from these differences. Hence, we neither expect nor desire every person or society to converge on a single mode of life (Appiah 2006: xiii). On the other hand, values inspire us to want others to subscribe to those same values. Therefore, not all values are equal to different individuals. Appiah uses the example of the virtue of kindness. If we believe kindness to be a universal value, then we want everyone to share this value and be kind to others. We also want all people to want each other to be kind, because we recognize the value of kindness. We want people to agree with us, because people who agree will be kind and encourage kindness in others (Appiah 2006: 26). The same is true for other values we consider to be universal. Our values are judgments upon which we act with good reason, and we encourage these acts, thoughts, and feelings in others.

[11] As Bestor (2000) explains, such a global/local identity can be quite hybrid, or creolized, if you will: "Globalization doesn't necessarily homogenize cultural differences nor erase the salience of cultural labels. Quite the contrary, it grows the franchise. … Throughout the world, sushi restaurants operated by Koreans, Chinese, or Vietnamese maintain Japanese identities."

This mechanism is hinted at by Todorov as well: he states that "[t]he universalism of values thus threatens the idea that human populations are all equal, and hence the universality of the species." If one population does not share core values with another population, one population may try to impose its perceived "universal" values on the other. Those who believe in trans-cultural values risk assuming that those values to which they are accustomed are universal. On the other hand, if all values are seen as culture specific and relative, this may gradually lead to nihilism (Todorov 2010 [2008]: 13–14). To strike a balance between respect for diversity (also underlined by Appiah) and a reliable scale of values in terms of our diverse human societies, Todorov closely examines the way the term "barbarian" is used for that which we reject, while "civilized" is used for that which we desire. Both are described in absolute terms, and "being civilized"—which is of particular interest here because of its clear resonance with Appiah and the aim of moral education—is defined as follows: "A civilized person is one who is able, at all times and in all places, to recognize the humanity of others fully" (Todorov 2010 [2008]: 21).

When we combine Appiah's cosmopolitanism and Todorov's analysis of barbarity versus being civilized, and we add these to Robertson's definition of globalization, we arrive at the existence of a certain level of a common value basis for humanity, respect for legitimate differences, and a common wish to have everyone agree upon certain basic values. We also get an explanation for why cultural exchange can sometimes work due to these shared values and respect for differences, and possibly for why it is that much globalization does not only mean homogenization but a co-optation or glocalization.[12] This is evident through many phenomena, for example "California-maki" sushi, which has added a new flavor to traditional Japanese sushi, or the status of baseball in Japan, which originated in the United States but was quickly co-opted by the Japanese and glocalized to fit into local frameworks of school and sports, coming mainly to signify values like cooperation, self-sacrifice, and group loyalty.[13]

Modern Moral Icons

In 2002, MEXT issued the booklets *Kokoro no nōto* for use in schools' moral education classes. They are not authorized textbooks, as they are not legally sanctioned for moral education, but teachers are encouraged to use them to teach the subject. Their practical use has been questioned, their contents have been criticized for not being up-to-date in their orientations and topics, and they have been criticized as an attempt to indoctrinate children with nationalism (Shimamura 2005). However, the booklets, three for different levels of elementary school, are representative of the kind of morality that is official in Japan and certainly the kind that

[12] Many of these phenomena are also discussed in research on "creolization." See, for example, Hannerz (1992), Willis and Murphy-Shigematsu (2008), or Willis (2009). In comparative education, this has been discussed by Anderson-Leavitt (2003), who uses the notion of "hybridization" in a similar sense.

[13] For example, see Elias (2010) or Whiting (1988).

MEXT wanted to present to the public, and continues to do so, as the booklets have not been significantly revised.

It is difficult to say anything precise about how much *Kokoro no nōto* is used in practice, but certainly all schools have access (an on-line edition was made available in 2011). I spoke to parents about the booklets, and they admitted to only having seen them for the first time when their children brought them home at the end of the school year; teachers confessed to rarely using these booklets, although they were aware of their existence. Therefore, the discussion here will not be one of impact, but one of ideals and signification as expressed by the compilers and endorsed by the body responsible for publishing them, namely MEXT. Who are the specific icons, how are they presented, and what could they signify? Further, I hope to elaborate how these icons relate to the world or a "world consciousness" and how they relate to the creation of a Japanese identity and morality.

The *Kokoro no nōto* booklets for elementary school come in three editions: one for the 1st and 2nd grades, one for the 3rd and 4th grades, and one for the 5th and 6th grades.[14] The front pages are illustrated with colorful drawings—for the 1st and 2nd grades, the page is warm orange and pink in color, with an illustration of a small boy and girl floating in the air surrounded by soap bubbles, smiling with their eyes closed, a book in their arms and the sun shining in the corner (MEXT 2009a). This signifies a dreamy and safe atmosphere. The front page picture on the booklet for the 3rd and 4th grades is less dreamy: the boy and girl are older, and they are waving and running, apparently shouting in excitement. The color scheme is blue and green with splashes of yellow, orange, and pink. The children are surrounded by objects of the modern world, such as airplanes, buildings, and trains (MEXT 2009b), evoking an exciting, active, and modern mood. For the 5th and 6th grades, the boy and girl look like adolescents, and the color scheme is green and blue. The adolescents are in a wooded area, apparently having just released three white birds, presumably pigeons, judging from their shape and relative plumpness (MEXT 2009c). Here, the impression is one of harmony and balance. In this way, the front pages set the tone for the content in the booklets; there is an attempt to adapt the booklets to the developmental stages of the readers, starting with the dreamy state of child-like innocence, advancing to the stage of a zest for life, and ending with a stage close to maturity, with allusions to peace (white birds) and a green environment (trees and the color green dominate the picture).

The moral ideals and icons invoked are also adapted to the developmental states of the readers. This study focuses on human moral icons that are predominantly found in the last volume in the series; however, here, I will very briefly explain the moral ideals found in the volume for the 1st and 2nd grades and later more at length about the volume for the 3rd and 4th grades and finally concentrate on the moral icons found in the volume for the 5th and 6th

[14] As mentioned, *Kokoro no nōto* have been made available on the Internet since 2011 (MEXT 2011). The e-editions are almost identical to the printed 2009 versions. Any changes between them will be noted when I describe the sections wherein they occur.

grades.[15] *Kokoro no nōto* for the youngest school children is characterized by the extensive use of colors, attractive fairy or pixie-like characters, and animals and cartoon representations of families and friends. The main topics covered in this picture book look-alike are "a beautiful heart" (*utsukushii kokoro)*; being healthy and active (*genki*); topics relating to family, friends, and local society, including understanding the importance of various occupations; being well-behaved; respecting life; and adhering to rules. This booklet also contains sections on acts to be avoided, such as lying, destroying things, bullying, and fighting. The examples are all generic, which makes the material open to interpretation and allows the children to identify with the topics. The only exception is the poem on the last page by renowned psychologist Kawai Hayao[16] (MEXT 2009a). This poem by an influential person is an indication of what is to follow in the next installment of *Kokoro no nōto*.

Kokoro no nōto for the 3rd and 4th Grades

Kokoro no nōto for the 3rd and 4th grades contains few illustrations and none of the attractive fairy-like characters; instead, this volume contains more photos and more texts by acclaimed and identifiable authors, such as a poem by Mado Michio[17] called *Watashi no arigatō*; a text about living with animals and plants by a 3rd grader girl named Toshiko; a text about the teacher written by another 3rd grader, Yamakawa-san; a piece about nature by Kaneko Misuzu;[18] and a text about life and nature by Noyori Ryōji[19] (MEXT 2009b: 51, 60, 86, 106). The major topics covered are the importance of being brave (*yūki o dasu*) and honest (*shōjiki*) (MEXT 2009b: 20–25). This volume also contains sections on proper behavior, kindness, obligations to other people, the importance of keeping the body in shape, on being thankful, the beauty of nature, and on family and Japanese culture. The section on culture is of particular interest as it allows us a view into how Japan is characterized and how the rest of the world is treated at this stage. This section first introduces several Japanese traditions: traditional clothing (*wafuku*), traditional diets (*washoku*), traditional housing (*washitsu*), each with short descriptions that manage to incorporate the word "nature" (*shizen*) (e.g., clothing has beautiful pictures of Japanese nature and animals, food is the rich gift of nature, houses are built using natural materials) (MEXT 2009b: 92). Next, we are introduced to the seasonal festivals of

[15] A detailed analysis of the moral contents of *Kokoro no nōto* can be found in the Ph.D. thesis "Moral Education in the Japanese Primary School" by Päivi Poukka (2011, unpublished but available at https://helda.helsinki.fi/bitstream/handle/10138/25716/moraledu.PDF?sequence=1).

[16] Kawai Hayao (1928–2007), psychologist and director of the International Research Center for Japanese Studies (Nichibunken) from 1995 to 2001. He also oversaw the compilation of the *Kokoro no nōto* series.

[17] Japanese poet (1909–), awarded the international Hans Christian Andersen award for children's literature in 1994. Mado's poems *Zōsan* (Elephant) and *Yagi-san yūbin* (Goat's Mail) are well loved by most Japanese children.

[18] Poet and songwriter (1903–30) especially known for her children's poetry.

[19] Chemist (1938–), awarded the Nobel Prize in chemistry in 2001.

Japan—new year (*shōgatsu*) in the winter, the star festival and festival of the ancestors (*tanabata* and *bon*) in the summer, the autumn festival and 7–5–3 festival (*aki matsuri* and *shichi-go-san*) in the autumn (MEXT 2009b: 93). On page 94, we learn about the kind of thinking that has kept Japanese culture together (living in harmony with nature, helping people and sharing with each other, valuing beauty, and striving to be polite and well mannered). Nature obviously has a big role in the self-image and identity promoted by *Kokoro no nōto*. In terms of globalization, this appeal to the special relation the Japanese are assumed to have with nature can be seen as an indication of the "civilizational, societal, ethnic, regional and, indeed individual, self-consciousness" that globalization elicits in groups and individuals, as described by Robertson.

With this background, the readers are ready to learn about other cultures on page 95. Different types of clothing are presented (from Sweden, Peru, and Africa [the Masai]), as well as different diets (Italian, Indian, and Chinese), and different types of housing (from Greece, Malaysia, and Mongolia). The section ends with the following exhortation:

> In different countries, cultures specific to them are born. Such cultures also reach us in Japan. Let us be friendly (*shitashimimashō*) with people from foreign countries and their culture. (MEXT 2009b: 95)

Here is the first sign of the need to know about and relate to foreign cultures and peoples. This issue is presented against the backdrop of Japanese culture, an approach that is quite common[20] and that is based on the idea that children should be well-versed in their own culture before attempting to familiarize themselves with other cultures. The volume thus, exhibits both elements of globalization—the clear expression of Japanese identity as well as "world consciousness" in the depiction of other cultures and the other element of legitimate difference (different countries, specific cultures) as described by Appiah.

Kokoro no nōto for the 3rd and 4th grades also introduces the "great person" approach using examples of athletes. Under the title "Let's learn from the athletes we look up to" (*akogare no supōtsu senshu ni manabō*), we find a picture of Takahashi Naoko—a gold medalist marathon runner at the Sydney Olympics in 2000—waving a flag; we get to read the testimonies of two unnamed athletes, a volleyball player and a baseball player. The overall message from all three examples is that it is important to have a goal in life and that to achieve this goal one must take control of one's own life and work to strengthen the body and soul (MEXT 2009b: 14). This message is further developed on pages 52–53 under the title "Learning together, supporting each other, helping each other" (*manabiai, sasaeai, tasukeai*). The members of the Japanese 400 meter relay team attribute their bronze medal at the Beijing Olympics in 2008 to their "togetherness" (the *ai*, which is also used in the title). The use of examples of well-known athletes not only elicits recognition from the children who have undoubtedly heard about these

[20] For example, see Roesgaard (1998, pp. 202–225).

famous athletes but also makes the examples less generic and more particular, without losing the opportunity for identification because, as *akogare* indicates, these are people whom children look up to and whom they should (at least from the editors' point of view) desire to imitate.

Kokoro no nōto for the 5th and 6th Grades

Kokoro no nōto for the 5th and 6th grades (MEXT 2009c) contains a greater number of examples of the "great person" approach. The first major section, "Building yourself" (*jibun o sodateru*), starts by sketching the desirable physical regimen for everyday life (sleeping, eating, exercising, studying, etc.) and then proceeds to discuss how to set goals and realize dreams (MEXT 2009c: 10–19).

This first section deals with largely the same topics as those for younger children; however, this volume proceeds under the heading "There are steps you can take to reach your dream." In other words, we now get not just examples to emulate but also a recipe for how to do it. The reader is asked to think about his or her goals and dreams. Dreams are believed to comfort and inspire us, and to reach our goals, we must take one step at a time and try our best; this is the road to happiness. On the opposite page is a large picture of Suzuki Ichirō—famous Seattle Mariners baseball player[21]—as a child of about the same age as the young readers. Lifting his bat, smiling in his white baseball gear and dark cap, he looks like any Japanese child playing one of his or her favorite games in school. Under the picture is a row of three photos documenting Ichirō's early career; to the left is a column with his biography and a picture of Ichirō as a small child in his gym clothes. The biography shares basic information about his career and a long list of his record-breaking batting scores (MEXT 2009c: 16–17). In the online edition of this volume, the photos of young Ichirō are replaced with one large photo of Ichirō in his signature pose, just before batting. The photo shows him in silhouette, with colors added to the background, giving the effect of an art presentation rather than a photograph (MEXT 2011: 17).[22]

Suzuki Ichirō's other qualities aside, this example presents readers with a person single-mindedly pursuing his goals with little other distraction. The pictures in the printed version only show readers the happy child; they do not in any way indicate the toil and endless practice that no doubt went into Ichirō realizing his dream. The healthy/spirited (*genki*) aspect of the Japanese child—a topic that features heavily in all Japanese publications on child rearing—is clearly reflected in the pictorial material, with smiles and action. (In all the pictures, Ichirō carries a bat, and in three of these, he is shown actually batting.) Another strong undercurrent reflected through this example is the virtue of being upfront/frank (*sunao*); this is seen in

[21] At the time, Ichirō was with the Mariners; he joined the New York Yankees in 2012.

[22] In the presentation on Ichirō, two numerals have been changed to update the information to 2010, but this does not change the overall impact of the text.

Ichirō's supposed single-minded pursuit of his dream and his open-faced smile in the largest picture of young Ichirō. With regard to the artful presentation in the online edition, the impression is more of an icon, a virtuoso in his field, who by the sheer invocation of his signature pose needs no further introduction.

Suzuki Ichirō, the man, has been transformed into "Ichirō the icon," and in spite of still being a living person, this construction of his childhood allows educators to use him as a suitable tool for moral instruction, simultaneously existing in another dimension than Suzuki Ichirō, the man, and his real life experiences as an adult. The later presentation of him as an adult in the online version has effectively transformed the "real" person into a sports icon, recognizable by his pose alone, and hence into an icon by virtue of his athletic success. In terms of the globalization discourse, the Japanese identity is represented by "Ichirō the icon" with a description of his persistent struggle for success, his "spiritedness" (*genki*), and his apparently ordinary Japanese upbringing. As a successful baseball player in the United States, he becomes an illustration of how the combination of dedicated work and willingness to engage and participate on a global scale, can result in a "world consciousness."

The next moral icons in the volume for the 5th and 6th grades are found under the heading "Curiosity (*kōkishin*) is the starting point." Here, the objective is innovation and creativity and ultimately making oneself useful to society. The moral icons are Nobel laureates Yukawa Hideki (theoretical physics) and Marie Curie. The text invites children to think about the invention of useful things in their immediate environment, from paper clips to airplanes. Behind every invention lies the effort and hard work of creative and innovative people.[23] This section uses simple drawings and smiley faces, giving it an air of note-type explanations, much like what can be imagined to take place on a blackboard or in personal class notes. Page 30, on which Yukawa and Curie are described, has three smileys, one with a question mark, one looking surprised, and one showing signs of realization/sudden revelation. The two icons are shown in old photographs with explanatory notes about their achievements. We learn that Yukawa always kept a notebook beside his bed; he was an inquisitive child (he had *kōkishin*) and his discovery of the meson[24] is attributed to his persistence and curiosity. Similarly, Marie Curie's curiosity and persistence are emphasized (Curie and her husband boiled down tons of material just to get 0.1 gram of radium). The two icons in this section are clearly intended as moral examples of what can be accomplished with curiosity and persistence (or *ganbari*); the last page of the section invites the reader to think about useful things in his or her surroundings and how they have been invented; the reader is also invited to imagine things that would be useful to have and come up with ideas for their materialization (MEXT 2009c: 28–31). Here, "world consciousness" is reflected in the choice of Marie Curie as an icon and in the global

[23] A similar approach was used in the NHK E-*tere* airing of a moral education (*dōtoku*) program about Kawaguchi Jun'ichirō, the creator of the satellite *Hayabusa*; the key words here are curiosity (*kōkishin*), persistence (*ganbaru*), and interest (*kyōmi*). An important lesson to be learned from Kawaguchi is to aim at being the first to do something rather than the best (NHK E-*tere* 2012).

[24] The carrier of the nuclear force that holds the atomic nuclei together.

importance of Yukawa's discovery. The Japanese identity is seen in the presence of Yukawa as well as in the identification of the virtues that both of the two icons allegedly possessed, virtues that are consistently linked to Japanese identity. Interestingly, the inclusion of Marie Curie shows the reader that these virtues are not exclusive to Japanese people, again linking the text to the discourse on world consciousness.

The final icon is presented under the heading "We live holding each other's hands" (*te o toriatte ikiru*); the icon here is Mother Theresa. The piece on Mother Theresa forms part of a larger section about fairness, justice, and the equality of human beings regardless of gender, skin color, and age (MEXT 2009c: 84–87). The text begins with an explanation of the ideals of equality and fairness:

> Since we are all human, discrimination and prejudice is unforgivable. People who have a distorted way of thinking surely have a weak spot within. (MEXT 2009c: 85)

The next page explains that the true way to live as a human being is by showing respect for fellow human beings and using our knowledge and skills for the good of humanity. The facing page contains a small black and white photograph of Mother Theresa holding the hand of a little girl who is sitting in her smiling mother's arms; Mother Theresa is quoted as follows:

> The greatest suffering of this world is the pain suffered by people who are all alone, who are not needed by anyone and not loved by anyone. (MEXT 2009c: 86)

Readers are then invited to think about their own knowledge and strengths and how they can use this knowledge to help other people; they are also encouraged to think about what can be done for other people immediately. *Kokoro no nōto* for the 5th and 6th grades also contains a section titled "Not clouding the window of the heart" (*Kokoro no mado o kumorasenai*), with an illustration of a boy standing aside from a larger group. Here, readers are urged to consider whether they are causing other people pain and if this is really the kind of people they want to be (MEXT 2009c: 87). From this perspective, Mother Theresa is presented almost as though she were the "world consciousness" personified. Mother Theresa's relevance to the Japanese identity lies in references to caring and helping and in relation to other people, general, universal values that are promoted as central to the formation of the Japanese identity as well as central to the world at large.

Another section is titled "A heart that loves our country and home" (*Kyōdo ya kuni o aisuru kokoro*) (MEXT 2009c: 104–107). Through this section, readers are asked to think about their hometowns, that is, where they come from (*furusato*), and their country. They are told that the country is made up of different people from different hometowns and regions (*furusato*), each having a rich tradition and culture, and the present residents are the keepers of this tradition. The challenges faced by the country today (technological development, internationalization,

information flow, ageing of society) are to be overcome by respecting tradition and mustering the strength to cope with the future (p. 105). Through this, we see the "pressures of globalization" discourse; the aforementioned civilizational, societal, ethnic, regional and, indeed individual, self-consciousness (Robertson 1992) is clearly expressed, and we can also detect a defensive attitude, wherein people fiercely demand their original identity (Todorov 2010 [2008]).

The concept of "Japaneseness" (*Nihon rashisa*) is introduced next. The idea of Japaneseness is based in tradition, and this should be the starting point from which Japanese people develop their skills and personality that will be useful in the future, in modern society. Examples of Japanese traditional skills representative of Japaneseness are haiku poetry, carpentry or woodwork, seasonal rites, woodblock prints, traditional music (*hōgaku*), regional traditional crafts, and traditional arts. "Skills" (*gijutsu*) are included in the idea of Japaneseness to indicate that it is not just the old way of life that they have to be proud of, but modern skills and technology, which should also be a source of pride and respect for the elders who helped in the building of ships, tunnels, and bridges (p. 107). Thus, we see how tradition and technological development is interwoven to being about the concept of "skill," which in turn is embedded in Japanese tradition and held up as a source of particular pride and identity for Japanese youth today.

From this inward-looking focus, the next section, "Together with the people of the world" (*Sekai no hitobito to tomo ni*) turns outward to include the rest of the world; this section includes quotes attributed to famous Japanese personalities like Sakamoto Ryōma,[25] who said that "we cannot but turn our gaze to the world," and Nitobe Inazō[26] who wished to "become the bridge over the Pacific." The message here is clear: from at least the time of the late Edo period, educated Japanese people have believed in the idea of Japan as part of a wider world community. The 5th and 6th grade readers are encouraged to become "splendid internationalists" (*rippa na kokusaijin*) who will engage with the world, for instance by arranging money collections for areas stricken by disaster (MEXT 2009c: 108–110). In this way, the awareness of a national background and identity is used as the backdrop for outward-directed activity and relatedness. Being Japanese, one has the opportunity to help and the human obligation to do so out of respect for life and other human beings.

Conclusions

Moral icons in *Kokoro no nōto* are used to fulfill at least two purposes: one is the possibility that the young reader will identify with the icon at some level, either as a fellow learner/child

[25] Sakamoto Ryōma (1836–67), low ranking samurai of the Tosa domain (today's Kōchi prefecture), who became one of the leaders of the movement to overthrow the Tokugawa-shōgunate in the Bakumatsu period (ca. 1853–67).

[26] Nitobe Inazō (1862–1933), agricultural economist, author, educator, diplomat, and politician. He is particularly known for his work on samurai ethics and Japanese culture in *Bushidō: The Soul of Japan* (1900).

or as a model of good behavior. With Suzuki Ichirō, for example, this identification is achieved particularly effectively by showing him as a child and by relying on the knowledge today's children have of his career and exploits as a sportsman. In this way, he becomes peer as well as model. In the example on Yukawa Hideki, the inclusion of information about his personal habits, such as keeping a notebook beside his bed, similarly serves to make children relate to him as an ordinary person, making him accessible as a moral model they can follow.

The other purpose of the great person approach is recognizable on the theoretical level, where the moral icons function well within the globalization discourse. There is clear focus on the expression of the national identity-aspect of the globalization discourse, seen in all the texts on the icons, with the possible exceptions of Marie Curie and Mother Theresa; however, even in their case, personal traits that are often attributed to being "Japanese" are extoled, making them familiar in a Japanese context. The sections on Japanese identity that focus on love for the country and particular references to what is considered central to "being Japanese" (*Nihon rashisa*) also contribute to the overall focus on national identity.

Expressions of Japanese identity in *Kokoro no nōto* clearly reflect the dimension of ethnic and regional self-consciousness in globalization; these "expressions of identity," along with attempts to relate individuals and social groups to a global future, and the provisions made to learn about local history, such as culture, nature, the environment, and world peace, would, to Robertson, represent the workings of the discourse on globalization and world consciousness.

The dimension of world consciousness is reflected of course in the foreign icons employed in *Kokoro no nōto*; however world consciousness is also reflected in the Japanese icons as they too relate to the global community: Ichirō plays baseball in the United States, Yukawa Hideki has contributed to the international research community, and Sakamoto Ryōma and Nitobe Inazō are presented with examples of their attempts to relate to the world outside Japan. *Kokoro no nōto* contains sections on how the Japanese identity can be related to the international community, with a focus on equality among people, respect for other cultures or "legitimate difference" as Appiah has termed it, and the exhortation to become "splendid internationalist[s]."

The two-pronged approach to globalization, as found in *Kokoro no nōto*, is in tune with the type of globalization outlined in this study, which is based on the views of Robertson, Appiah, and Todorov. This dual nature of globalization helps us deal with the ambiguity of the messages inherent in *Kokoro no nōto*. Instead of merely sending out mixed signals, the local and international elements create a balance demonstrating that the challenges of globalization are truly being acknowledged and engaged. It is my hope that this paper will demonstrate that theories of globalization and cosmopolitanism are useful for clarifying the results an analysis of *Kokoro no nōto* has to reveal that what may at first glance be interpreted as ambiguity or even confused messages are in fact quite consistent with what we may expect based on theories of globalization and cosmopolitanism.

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Japan, Europe and East Asian Regionalism[1]

Bart Gaens

Introduction

The global order is presently undergoing a process of multipolarization, owing to the rise of regional powers such as Russia, China, and India, and the growth of dynamic developing markets such as South Africa, Indonesia, and Brazil. In addition, regional power blocs have made distinct gains in importance. While the European Union is generally seen as the epitome of institutionalized regional integration, other areas in the world have been marked by enhanced "regionness" as well, through regional institution-building and the development of a multidimensional form of integration.[2] Regional integration in Asia, in particular, has progressed at a remarkably fast pace, resulting in widespread perceptions of "the rise of Asia" at the global level. It is clear that Asia's growing economic and political weight has widespread repercussions for the environment, social systems, regional security, and global governance.

More than anything, Asia's ascendancy has been marked by China's regained centrality as a major regional power and as a key factor shaping a "new Asian order." Showing impressive economic growth, the country overtook Japan in 2010 as the world's number two economy, and could surpass the United States in terms of size of GDP within the next twenty to thirty years. China's increasingly assertive stance in regional affairs and rapidly escalating military spending focus global attention on regional hotspots such as the East China Sea and South China Sea. It also turns the spotlight on China's neighbor, Japan. Views of that country as an economic powerhouse and references to "Japan as Number One," once so prominent in the 1970s and 1980s, now seem like a distant memory. During the past decade, Japan has made efforts to redefine its place in East Asia, revive its economy, and take a stronger stance in regional security. Caught between an economic superpower (China), a security superpower

[1] This paper, drafted in October 2013, is a revised version of the original conference paper presented at the Nichibunken Overseas Symposium in August 2012.

[2] This form of regional integration is sometimes referred to as "new regionalism." A former generation of regionalism was mainly trade-oriented and exemplified by the European Economic Community. At the global level, it gave rise to group-to-group dialogues, often EU-led and focusing on economic cooperation, of which the bilateral links between the EC and ASEAN that started in 1978 is a prime example. The newer type of regionalism is more complex, comprehensive, and political than previously, and includes regions that become more pro-active, engage in inter-regional arrangements, and aim to shape global governance (Söderbaum and van Langenhove 2005, pp. 255–57).

(the United States), and a diplomatic superpower (ASEAN),[3] Japan's actions are compounded by its historical legacy and the region's lingering sensitivities towards the country's pre-war expansionist policies and efforts to establish the Greater East Asian Co-prosperity Sphere. Regardless, it is the increasingly strong presence of China in particular that can explain Japan's more visible presence in the East Asian regional project.

To a certain extent, Europe (defined as the European Union, or EU) faces a similar predicament to Japan. In Europe, the perception is widespread that the global center of gravity has been shifting away, with its own power gradually eroding. The global financial crisis and awareness of an "Asian Century" has without doubt strongly affected Europe's self-confidence, perhaps best illustrated by the fact that Germany, as well as France, turned towards China in search of ways to alleviate the crisis (see Gaens et al. 2012). Second, Europe, like Japan, has turned increasingly inward in order to overcome internal economic and political challenges. The recent global financial crisis of 2007–2008 has led to introspection and numerous allusions to the EU's decline. A third similarity between Europe and Japan is the necessity for a broader outlook in view of the palpable power shift, and a need to engage in regional cooperation and integration. For Europe, the only way out of the Eurozone crisis seems to be increased political integration and a further allocation of powers to the supranational level. For Japan, it is vital to promote regional integration in Asia in order to revitalize its economy and to address security issues, including territorial disputes. Fourth, Japan also increasingly resembles Europe in profiling itself as a "global civilian power." Both players emphasize civilian and "soft" strengths, rather than military means, in order to exert influence, shape the global agenda, or even stake claims for leadership in the international community.

In view of these similarities, do Europe and the EU play a role in Japan's increasingly active attempts to steer Asian regionalism? If "the rise of China" has driven forward Japan's policy for East Asia, and if the security alliance with the United States is still the "cornerstone of Japanese diplomacy and security," how does Japan view Europe as a partner, an influence, a source of ideas, or a reference point for the development of Japanese political philosophies? After outlining recent developments in East Asia regionalism and sketching Japan's changing stance towards regional integration, this paper explores how Japan has looked upon Europe from a twofold angle. It examines, first, how Japan has positioned itself in interregional encounters with the EU in the Asia-Europe Meeting (ASEM) since 1996, and second, which role Japan has attributed to the EU and Europe in its own recent proposals for East Asian regional diplomacy and in its views on regional security.

[3] The Association of Southeast Asian Nations, albeit weakly institutionalized, is seen by many as the region's "leader by default," as it is at the core of most regional free trade agreements, and serves as a broker in the regional order through ASEAN-run multilateral structures, including the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) and the East Asia Summit (EAS). The term "diplomatic superpower" was introduced by Mahbubani (2009, p. 310).

The Rise of Asia and Increased Regionalism

First, it may be useful to examine in slightly more detail the so-called rise of Asia and the progress of regionalism. The enhanced weight of a broadly defined Asian region seems beyond doubt, when looking at economy and trade, institutionalization, and ongoing processes of "Asianization." From the perspective of trade and economy, one of the most conspicuous developments has been the sharp increase in intra-Asian trade. Merchandise trade among Asian countries has grown from around 20% in 1960 to over 50% in 2011 (WTO 2013). The region has furthermore become the focal point of trade-liberalizing measures, leading to a "noodle bowl" of Free Trade Agreements (FTAs). Asian countries were party to half of all Preferential Trade Agreements (PTAs) signed in the last ten years (WTO 2011), and in East Asia alone, the number of FTAs soared from just three in 2000 to around fifty in 2011 (Kawai and Wignaraja 2011). Moreover, it is telling that the global financial crisis has seemingly had a milder effect on East Asia (Pollet-Fort and Yeo Lay Hwee 2012: 4). European exports to Asia, for example, were affected much less than the average drop in the EU's global exports, indicating that the purchasing power of Asian countries remained relatively stable.[4]

Second, Asia's growing "regionness" can also be witnessed in the proliferation of regional institutions. A remarkable shift from a focus on confidence building during the 1990s to an action-oriented, multilayered network of regional institutions has taken place. After the Asian Financial Crisis (1997–98) heightened the awareness of the need for cross-regional cooperation, the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) established a summit meeting with the three Northeast Asian countries in 1997, marking the beginning of the ASEAN+3 (APT) process. In 2005, the APT became the core of the East Asia Summit (EAS), further including Australia, New Zealand, and India (ASEAN+6), and since 2011, also Russia and the United States (ASEAN+8). A recent addition since 2008 is the Trilateral Cooperation between Japan, China, and South Korea, which has shown that economic cooperation and progress towards an FTA can coexist with strained diplomatic relations among the three countries.

Third, in political/diplomatic terms, a process of "Asianization" is evident. It is clear that, from the vantage point of identity, no single definition of "Asia," or no overarching Asian consciousness, exists. Pekka Korhonen (2012) has recently argued that at present, Asia is no longer a geographical concept, but rather "a political commonplace, used as a strong and positively loaded linguistic asset in political rhetoric in the Asian Pacific area for various kinds of regional integrative purposes." Nevertheless, increased ambition to be "part of the club" has led to widening definitions of the Asian/East-Asian/Asia-Pacific region. For instance, China's rise has triggered U.S. aspirations to reassert the country's influence in the Asia-Pacific. Secretary of State Hillary Clinton's article in *Foreign Policy* (Clinton 2011), heralding "America's

[4] Both the EU's overall exports and imports fell by over 14% in 2009 (WTO 2011), but exports to Asia only decreased by 5%. Interestingly, while trade with Asia decreased in absolute terms in 2009, the region's relative importance grew, indicating that trade with other regions in the world has been affected much more.

Pacific Century," for example, clearly stated Washington's ambitions to form a counterweight to China, and to take on a leading role in a region "eager for US leadership and business." Russia, increasingly focused on the Far East, seeks recognition as an East Asian power, while India is also progressively involved in the East Asian regional architecture. India's "turn to the East" has intensified economic integration and strengthened its image as a great power, even as a possible counterweight to China (Wagner 2006: 56–57). ASEAN is at the core of most regional free trade agreements, and serves as a broker in the regional order. Australia is seeking to balance its close alliance with East Asia, while safeguarding the role of the United States as security provider.

Japan and East Asian Regionalism

These developments, then, bring Japan's role as a regional actor to the fore. In the post-war era and throughout the Cold War, Japan's position in East Asia has been guided by the Yoshida doctrine, according to which Japan focused on trade and economic development, while remaining under the U.S. security umbrella. The politically and diplomatically low-key profile remained at the heart of the Fukuda doctrine of the late-1970s, emphasizing Japan's pacifist and non-interventionist stance in the region, while aiming to improve Tokyo's relations with Southeast Asia through economic aid.

Further, after the Cold War, Japan retained a low-key profile and an ambivalent, ambiguous, or hesitant stance towards East Asian integration. As Blechinger (2000) has argued, Japan displayed "deliberate ambivalence" towards the Malaysian proposal to promote East Asian regionalism in the form of an East Asian Economic Caucus (EAEC). On the surface (as its "façade" or *tatemae*), the Japanese attitude opposed the EAEC in order to avoid straining its relations with the United States, whereas on a less obvious level (of "true feelings" or *honne*), the Japanese government supported the creation of a regional consultative grouping as a supplement to the APEC process. Moreover, Japan has often been seen as being more Western than Asian, and as performing a delicate balancing act between dynamic economic relations with Asian countries on the one hand, and a close adherence to the security alliance with the United States.

Japan's postwar tendency to stay clear of hard power politics, and instead take a passive, non-confrontational, and minimalist stance continued to a large extent after the end of the Cold War (Kamiya 2000: 248). However, especially since the start of the twenty-first century, Japan has taken on a much more active role in East Asian diplomacy and political integration, driven by a strongly emerging China, as mentioned earlier. Sino-Japanese relations have, since the late-1990s, often been described as "cold political relations, hot economic relations" (*seirei keinetsu*), that is, competitive and confrontational political relations standing in marked contrast to close and mutually beneficial economic relations. The main reason for strained diplomatic relations

is China's military build-up[5] and the country's increasingly assertive stance in the South China Sea and, more importantly for Japan, the East China Sea, in particular the Senkaku (Diaoyutai) islands. During the past five to six years, the cold diplomacy had a limited negative effect on economic relations. Total trade with China in 2010 still increased by 30% to 301.9 billion USD compared to the previous year, making China Japan's top trade partner, while the companies entering the Chinese market decreased by almost 14%.[6] Nevertheless, in 2012, China still accounted for approximately 18% of all of Japan's imports and exports.

At the diplomatic level however, Japan has actively promoted regionalism by first engaging China and later aiming to dilute its influence. The ASEAN+3 (APT) serves as an example. The APT was indirectly a Japanese initiative, based on a proposal in January 1997 for an ASEAN-Japan summit, which ASEAN thereafter broadened to include South Korea and China (Hughes 2009: 846). Japan thereafter used the APT to promote cooperation in the field of currency and financial affairs (Shiraishi and Sy Hau 2009: 37). The New Miyazawa Initiative of 1998, for example, included a proposal for the establishment of an Asian Monetary Fund. While the proposal was rejected, it did result in the Chiang Mai Initiative (CMI) of 2000, consisting of strengthened bilateral currency swaps between the ASEAN countries and China, Japan, and South Korea. However, after China openly voiced support for the APT to develop into a basis for a thirteen-country FTA in 2000, Japan, fearing China's dominance, proposed another forum for diplomatic regionalism. Supported by Singapore and Indonesia, Japan's proposal for a comprehensively-defined East Asian community prevailed, resulting in the first East Asian Summit (EAS) in 2005 (Goh 2011: 898).

Europe as an Interregional Partner

Against this background, what role, if any, has Europe played in Japan's shifting Asia policy? The European Union is still the world's largest economy and a major economic player in East Asia, thanks to the strong bilateral trade relations between EU member states and Asian countries. An FTA with South Korea materialized in 2010, while free-trade negotiations with India and Japan are underway. The total volume of EU trade has doubled compared to ten years ago, and the relative importance of the East Asian region has increased to 28%. However, the EU's importance for East Asia has declined (DG Trade 2005, 2007, 2012) and may continue to do so, as intra-Asian trade and integration in the region progresses further. In political terms, the EU has been largely absent from Asia, mainly for two reasons. First, although since the entry into force of the Lisbon Treaty in 2009 collective representation has appeared more in

[5] Chinese military spending recorded a yearly double-digit growth between 1989 and 2013, with the exception of 2010.

[6] Figures are provided by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, based on the China Trade and Foreign Economic Statistical Yearbook 2010.

the foreground, the EU does not have a single voice. Member states are reluctant to further pool their sovereignty and the supposedly more unified EU foreign policy has had trouble maintaining a coherent policy stance. Second, the EU has failed to live up to its ambition to become a "normative power" (Manners 2002: 239–42) in Asia, and promote democracy, human rights, and the rule of law. The EU can rightly be criticized for being pragmatic and inconsistent, and for adjusting its insistence on human rights, for example, according to the relative economic power of its counterpart.

In spite of this minor role as a political player, the EU cooperates with Asian countries organized as a regional grouping in a wide range of fields, including diplomacy, trade, and culture. The main forum for this comprehensive cooperation is the Asia-Europe Meeting (ASEM), a summit-level, yet informal, dialogue forum created in 1996 with a view to advancing interregional relations between Europe and Asia. ASEM was a Singaporean initiative, but the renewed focus on the Asian region by leading EU member states, and the publication of the European Commission's Asia Strategy in 1994, were equally important driving forces. Since 1996, biennial ASEM summits have taken place alternately in Asia and in Europe. Asian-organized summits took place in Bangkok (1996), Seoul (2000), Hanoi (2004), Beijing (2008), and Vientiane (2012), while the U.K. (1998), Denmark (2002), Finland (2006), and Belgium (2010) organized the summits and peripheral meetings during their six-month rotating Presidency of the European Council. The first summit had twenty-six participants, namely fifteen EU member states plus the European Commission and seven-member ASEAN, in addition to China, Japan, and the Republic of Korea. Over the years, ASEM has evolved substantially in terms of membership, currently consisting of fifty-one partners.[7]

Japan has used the meetings with "Europe" in the ASEM framework for a threefold purpose: to promote its economic interests; to draw competing Asian states closer into multilateral cooperation; and to place its stamp on the institutional development of interregionalism to suit its own vision of "inclusive regionalism." First, Japan's position in ASEM has been marked by a drive to promote its material interests. From the beginning, ASEM offered Japan the opportunity to promote the country's direct bilateral economic interests with Europe, while at the same time addressing issues on trade and economy with its Asian partners. The first summit yielded several highly promising results, including a Senior Officials' Meeting on Trade and Investment (SOMTI), a Finance Ministers' Meeting (FinMM), and an Economic Ministers' Meeting (EMM). These led to the concrete realization of an Investment Promotion Action Plan (IPAP), a Trade Facilitation Action Plan (TFAP), and an Asia-Europe Business Forum (AEBF). Japan was actively involved in these. Tokyo organized the first meeting of

[7] Ten new EU member states joined in 2004, while the Asian group enlarged to include Cambodia, Laos, and Burma/Myanmar. India, Pakistan, Mongolia, and the ASEAN Secretariat entered the partnership in 2006, after the EU had further come to include Romania and Bulgaria. The total reached forty-eight after Russia, Australia, and New Zealand joined the gathering in 2010. Bangladesh was added to the Asian side in 2012, while non-EU states Norway and Switzerland joined the European grouping. Croatia will likely become the fifty-second member in 2014.

ASEM Economic Ministers in 1996, and acted as facilitator for the working group on custom procedures aimed at promoting simplification, harmonization, and transparency. Japan has furthermore organized and co-sponsored seminars on government procurement and IT, digital opportunity, multilateral and regional economic relations, and Public Private Partnership.[8] After the Kyoto Protocol entered into force in 2005, Japan-sponsored events focused on energy efficiency, adaptation to climate change, and community-level actions for the global environmental agenda.

Second, Japan has pursued its interests in the political and security sphere, especially regarding its relations with China and Russia. In retrospect, interregional meetings with the EU have served as a venue for "socializing China" and integrating the country into the regional order. While ASEM is a good example of China's successful integration in regional institutions (cf. Gaens 2009), it has also served as a barometer to measure the strains in Sino-Japanese relations. Within ASEM, Japan has acknowledged China's re-emergence as a global power, but issues such as high school history textbooks, Yasukuni Shrine visits, and the territorial dispute surrounding the Senkaku islands, continue to strain relations. At the very least, ASEM provides a venue for Japan to gather support for its regional policies, including through "proxy diplomacy," by getting the EU to voice proposals espoused by Japan (Hook et al. 2012: 274).

A similar strategy to draw competing states within the diplomatic order in order to promote their compliance with international rules applies to Japan's strategy to "Asianize Russia." Japan's support for Russia's participation in ASEM, which materialized in 2010, can be seen as an example of efforts to align Russia with institutions of global governance. In the words of Ogoura (2008: 118), Japan's earlier endorsement of the Russian candidacy for participation in APEC and the G8 aimed at "giving Russia international responsibility and drawing it into Asia and into the global management of international issues, in the hope that this would prompt Russia to resolve bilateral issues in line with international rules." Here, in particular, the conclusion of a peace treaty with Japan[9] and the territorial dispute surrounding the Northern Territories[10] are salient underlying issues.

Third, Japan has played an important role in steering ASEM's institutional development. As region-specific preparations took place ahead of ASEM summits, they promoted cooperation and dialogue with Japan's regional neighbors. Julie Gilson (1999: 742) has argued that Japan has fully played the Asian card at ASEM, promoting intra-Asian relations without direct

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[8] Intergovernmental initiatives and state-to-state collaborative projects are at the core of ASEM, and all are self-sponsored by member states. They revolve around "issue-based leadership" as a guiding instrument. ASEM partner countries form leading "shepherd" groups, which drive a number of related initiatives in a particular area, based on interest, expertise, and willingness to financially support the projects.

[9] See, for example, former Prime Minister Fukuda Yasuo's speech on the occasion of the 14th International Conference on the Future of Asia, May 22, 2008 ("When the Pacific Ocean becomes an 'Inland Sea': Five Pledges to a Future Asia that 'Acts Together'").

[10] See, for example, former Prime Minister Asō Tarō's speech on the occasion of the 15th International Conference on the Future of Asia, May 21, 2009 ("Overcoming the Economic Crisis to Rekindle a Rapidly Developing Asia").

involvement of the United States. ASEM meetings have allowed Japan to meet Asian neighbors bilaterally and in a regional setting.[11] Japan has without doubt placed its stamp on the shaping of the Asian regional grouping. Japan lobbied for the forum's enlargement in order to balance China's rise. Ever since former Prime Minister Koizumi proposed an East Asian Community in Singapore in 2002, Japan has been a strong supporter of "inclusive integration" in the form of an expanded East Asian Community, with the inclusion of Australia, New Zealand, India, and Russia, as an effective balance against China's potential domination. In a 2002 speech, Koizumi noted that ASEAN, Japan, China, the Republic of Korea, Australia, and New Zealand needed to be core members. Furthermore, the community was ideally based on practical cooperation with those outside the region—primarily, the United States. China criticized this as an attempt to dilute ongoing processes of integration (Bowden 2005). Within ASEM, Japan successfully supported the gradual development of an inclusive Asian grouping in order to keep the EU member states involved as part of a Eurasian framework, rather than allowing ASEM to develop into a region-to-region or bloc-to-bloc construction. Japan was also the prime mover behind the initiative to establish an ASEM Virtual Secretariat (AVS), endorsed by the Seventh Foreign Ministers' Meeting in 2005 in Kyoto. For Japan, the AVS averted the potential construction of an Asian Secretariat, which could have changed ASEM into an overly exclusive region-to-region construction. At the same time, it satisfied the proponents of gradual institutionalization, while keeping open the option to develop ASEM into "an organization with greater geopolitical perspective" (Togo 2004).

In sum, interaction with the EU and its member states within the interregional Asia-Europe Meeting has allowed Japan to promote its material (economic) interests. At the same time, the meetings served political goals by engaging upcoming regional powers, including China, in multilateral cooperation. As such, ASEM had intra-regional significance, contributing to strengthening cooperation within East Asia. ASEM also offered Japan the chance to lobby for European support for its policy stance. Finally, Japan has been successful in steering the forum's set-up in line with Tokyo's regionalist views, molding a broad and inclusive Asian regional grouping.

"Europe" in Recent Japanese Proposals for East Asian Regionalism

In addition to cooperating in an interregional context, what role has Europe played in Japan's vision for regional community building? Two recent and entirely discrepant visions have made significant reference to Europe, namely Abe Shinzō and Asō Tarō's "value-based diplomacy" and Hatoyama Yukio's "fraternity-based East Asian community."

[11] This has been conducive to the formation of the ASEAN+3 in 1997.

Values-based diplomacy

Prime Minister Koizumi Jun'ichirō was the first to suggest a "community that acts together and advances together" in 2002, rooted in relations between Japan and ASEAN, but also in security relation with the United States. When that community took its first cautious steps in 2005, in the form of the East Asia Summit, there were no doubts that Japan had cast itself in a steering role within a broader defined Asian community. Asō Tarō, Minister for Foreign Affairs in the Koizumi cabinet, described the East Asia Summit in 2005 as a "Council of Optimists." In his view, Japan has been the world's leading optimist for many years in the post-war era, and should now take on the role of "thought leader" (*sōto rīdā*) for Asia: "(A) thought leader is one who through fate is forced to face up against some sort of very difficult issue earlier than others. Moreover, because the issue is so challenging, it is difficult to solve. But as the person struggles to somehow resolve the issue, he/she becomes something for others to emulate." In other words, Asia should recognize Japan as a "practical forerunner" (*jissenteki senkusha*) that, for its innovative ideas and expertise, can function as a model for Asia to emulate.

When these references to potential Japanese leadership based on soft power claims failed to make an impression, new Prime Minister Abe Shinzō, by way of the same Foreign Minister Asō, launched a "values-oriented diplomacy" in November 2006, appealing to values and norms that included democracy, freedom, human rights, rule of law, and market economy as the basis for foreign policy. The proposal aimed to strengthen cooperation with other like-minded countries in order to help establish "the Arc of Freedom and Prosperity" (*jiyū to han'ei no ko*) in Eurasia. According to Asō, the Arc "would start from Northern Europe and traverse the Baltic states, Central and South Eastern Europe, Central Asia and the Caucasus, the Middle East, and the Indian subcontinent, then cross Southeast Asia finally to reach Northeast Asia" (MOFA 2007: 2). The core goal of this concept was to strengthen cooperation and links with like-minded partners, such as the United States, and Australia in the East, India in South Asia, and EU and NATO in the West. The proposal refrains from referring to Japanese leadership in a comprehensively defined East Asian community, but does argue that Japan can be seen as "one of the true veteran players out there on the field" when it comes to honoring universal values. Rather than a "practical forerunner," Japan profiled itself as an "escort runner," supporting countries along the Arc in their democratization processes. Northern Europe was singled out as a leading example in the fields of development assistance and peacekeeping, and the proposal included the suggested creation of a "Northern Europe Plus Japan" forum, modeled on the "Visegrad Four and Japan" (V4+1) dialogue forum (including Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, and Slovakia).

The Asō-Abe proposal was short-lived, as the latter had to resign as Prime Minister in September 2006, and the cabinet formed by his successor Fukuda Yasuo did not pursue the concept. The proposal was criticized as being a less than candid effort to contain China's growing military power and "encircle" the country (Hosoya 2011: 17; Hughes 2009: 854). India, for example, gave the proposal a lukewarm reception, in order to avoid straining relations

with China. Alternately, Tokyo's proposition has been interpreted as an attempt to get Russia back to the negotiating table over its territorial dispute with Japan, by appealing that Japan (and its ally, the United States) would increase diplomatic capital in Eastern Europe and in former Soviet countries (Taniguchi 2010: 2). Nevertheless, the underlying goals of the proposal, namely, to "brand" Japan as a democratic nation and as a reliable partner for the United States and to widen Tokyo's strategic position by reaching out to other like-minded democratic countries such as India, Australia, and Europe (Taniguchi 2010:1), made a comeback late in 2012 after the reemergence of Abe Shinzō as Prime Minister.

On December 27, 2012, Abe laid out his proposal for Asia's "Democratic Security Diamond." His strategy to form a diamond-shaped security alliance between Japan and Australia, India, and the United States was explicitly linked to China's assertive behavior in both the East and South China Seas and the threat this posed to maritime security. Interestingly, he reached out to European states Britain and France to participate in Asian security. He furthermore expressed Japan's ambition to join the Five Power Defense Arrangements (FPDA) between the U.K., Malaysia, Singapore, Australia, and New Zealand. Closer strategic ties with Britain materialized in practice in July 2013, with a Defense Equipment Cooperation Framework and an Information Security Agreement between Japan and the U.K. Compared to his previous term in office, "Abe 2.0" seems to place a similar emphasis on cooperation with partners that share "democratic values," but the focus now lies more on bilateral cooperation with individual European countries that can play a role in hard security. In addition, stronger Japanese cooperation with NATO, including its European members, can also be seen as an outcome of Japan's search for a partnership with global players who share Japan's perceptions and approaches (see Paul 2013).

"Fraternity" *(yūai)*

This strategic reach-out to "like-minded" European countries in order to complement the Japan-US security alliance has thus marked Japan's Asia strategy since 2006. Further, Hatoyama Yukio's 2009 ground breaking proposal for the creation of an East Asian Community, wedged between the 2006 "Arc" and the 2012 "Democratic Diamond," was rooted in synergies with the West. However, the proposal, launched after the victory by the Democratic Party of Japan (DPJ) in the general elections of August 2009, and the subsequent government under Prime Minister Hatoyama Yukio, was entirely different in underlying ideas and the role given to Europe. It constituted a remarkable attempt to integrate European regionalist ideas into Japan's "grand scheme" for East Asia. Hatoyama published the proposal in the monthly journal *Voice* just before the DPJ's landslide election victory over the LDP.[12] Hatoyama found his inspiration in the EU's experience with reconciliation and cooperation in Europe, and was in

[12] This was followed by an abridged op-ed piece in *The New York Times* (27 August 2009).

particular influenced by the ideas of Count Richard Nikolaus Eijiro von Coudenhove-Kalergi.[13] Coudenhove-Kalergi (1894–1972) was born in Tokyo; he was the son of an Austrian diplomat and Aoyama Mitsuko, the daughter of a wealthy merchant and antiques dealer in Azabu. Coudenhove-Kalergi was the first to propose a Pan-European union in 1922, convinced that the only way to overcome Europe's post-war problems and avoid a new war was cooperation along the Germany-France axis and a political union in Europe.

Hatoyama based his policy specifically on Coudenhove-Kalergi's concept of "fraternity" (*yūai*), which was defined as independence and co-existence linked to a community-spirit, and rooted in respect for human dignity. For Coudenhove-Kalergi, freedom and equality, two core ideals of the French Revolution, can lead to excesses in the form of left-wing or right-wing totalitarianism (i.e., communism or national socialism). Accordingly, freedom and equality need to be balanced by fraternity. Hatoyama aimed to apply this reasoning to contemporary Japanese politics, including its domestic and external dimensions. First, Hatoyama criticized U.S.-led globalization as having resulted in market fundamentalism. He called for fraternity as a guiding principle that could moderate the excesses of the capitalist system. For him, "fraternity" was the banner under which to expand Japan's social safety net, address wealth disparities, promote the public (non-profit) sector, and protect local communities and traditional economic activities. A vital tool to achieve these goals was another EU-derived concept, namely subsidiarity, or the idea that matters should be dealt with at the lowest possible practical level. Localization and decentralization were therefore key concepts of his domestic policy.

Second, he alluded to the end of U.S.-led globalism and the start of an era of multipolarity. Seeing East Asia as Japan's "basic sphere of being," he espoused EU-style integration in order to create an East Asian community based on rapprochement between Japan and China. Fraternity here was to function as a tool to promote trust and overcome nationalism through an East Asian Community. For Hatoyama, regional integration, including a possible future common Asian currency, could defuse territorial disputes and address historical and cultural conflicts, just as it has done in Europe. Hatoyama envisioned Japan taking on a proactive role in this project, as a bridge between the countries of Asia. Similar to the European community deriving from a common market for coal and steel production, the East Asian community would start from fields in which cooperation was most viable, such as FTAs, finance, currency, energy, environment, and disaster relief.[14]

Hatoyama's proposal ended in failure. Domestically, his proposals met with sharp criticism for being lofty and overly idealistic. It was seen, in the words of Inoguchi (2012: 240), as "a grandiose and extremely vague idea." More importantly, his proposal met with a highly critical response in the United States. His allusions to the decline of U.S. power, especially at a time

[13] Hatoyama hereby followed in the footsteps of his grandfather, Hatoyama Ichirō, prime minister between 1954 and 1956, who translated one of Coudenhove-Kalergi's books into Japanese and adopted Coudenhove's idea of fraternity as his main political slogan.

[14] Address delivered at the 64th session of the General Assembly of the United Nations, September 24, 2009.

when the United States was launching its re-engagement to East Asia through the so-called pivot, and his implication that the United States would be left out of his envisaged East Asian Community, did not go down well at all in Washington. Eventually, Hatoyama was forced to resign, after failing to achieve his election campaign promise, which was symbolic of an equal alliance with the United States, to move the U.S. Air Force base at Futenma out of Okinawa, or even out of Japan. In spite of this, his proposal was a revolutionary attempt to renegotiate Japan's identity as a country situated in Asia but closely tied for its security to the United States. Importantly, it aimed to apply lessons from European integration to promote prosperity and stability in East Asia, thereby offering an interesting case of the adaptation of political ideas between Japan and Europe.

Conclusion

Against the background of increasing global multipolarization and regional power shifts, the EU and Japan show certain similarities in their predicament. Describing themselves as "global partners sharing common values," the EU and Japan are currently in the process of negotiating a Free Trade Agreement. Undeniably, the EU remains first and foremost an economic power, and in Asia, it is most often regarded as an important partner for business and trade. In theory, however, the EU could play a stronger role in terms of East Asian security and diplomacy. For countries such as Japan, for example, the EU could be a useful political and foreign policy partner, offering expertise in maritime security, or as an operational partner collaborating in post-conflict nation-building and peace-keeping missions (Tsuruoka 2011: 37–42).

This paper has examined two roles played by the EU from the perspective of Japan, namely, as a dialogue partner in region-to-region cooperation, and as a reference point in Japan's foreign policy and in proposals to advance East Asian regionalism. Within the interregional Asia-Europe Meeting, Japan originally placed prime focus on the promotion of economic interests, but Tokyo has also used meetings with the EU to engage China in multilateral and intra-regional cooperation, or to rally for European policy support, including for the formulation of the Asian regional grouping in line with Japan's inclusive vision.

Furthermore, Europe and the EU have been given varying roles in Japanese foreign policy. First, in the Abe-Asō "values-based diplomacy" dating back to 2006, Europe was seen partly as a model and cooperation partner from which Japan could learn, and partly as the locus of countries sharing similar (universal) values with which Japan could form a Eurasian alliance, as part of a balancing strategy against rising regional powers such as China and Russia. These alliance-creating attempts continue in a more recent version of the "values-based diplomacy" after the return of Abe Shinzō as prime minister, inviting individual EU members France and Britain to take on a stronger military defense role in East Asia. On the other hand, Hatoyama Yukio's 2009 proposal for an East Asian Community based on "fraternity" aimed to promote

rapprochement between Japan and China. It portrayed Japan as a member of East Asia, rather than as a partner in a Eurasian alliance that relied firmly on the United States to safeguard its security. Hatoyama's failure to explain the philosophical foundations of his domestic policy more clearly and to more explicitly link theory with practice, led to increasing criticism. More importantly, his proposal's alleged anti-Americanism doomed it to failure. Nevertheless, the fact that it looked to Europe as a possible model for integration and community building in East Asia reveals that the EU's experience can be relevant for other regions as well.

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幕末日本とナポレオン情報

Information about Napoleon in Bakumatsu Japan

岩下哲典
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はじめに

江戸後期から幕末維新期の日本において、ナポレオン情報が果たした役割や意義を述べるのが本稿の目的である[1]。

最初に江戸時代における徳川幕府の海外情報の管理の実態に関して簡単に概観する。次に、最初に日本にもたらされたナポレオン情報が、19 世紀初期のゴロヴニーン事件のさなかであり、ゴロヴニーン一行の中にいたロシア軍人ムールの獄中上表であったことを指摘する。さらにこのナポレオン情報が、当時最高の西洋事情研究機関であった幕府天文方に与えた影響、またその天文方がオランダ商館あるいはオランダ人等を通じてアムステルダムでなそうとした出版計画とその結果に関して述べる。そして、その後、天文方は幕府当局からの政治的弾圧によって萎縮を余儀なくさせられ、ナポレオン研究は一蘭学者、すなわち小関三英の手によってなされたこと、彼の著作が、佐久間象山、吉田松陰や西郷隆盛などに及ぼした影響に関して言及し、また徳川慶喜とナポレオンに関して述べる。全体としてナポレオン情報が、江戸後期や幕末の日本にどのようなインパクトを与えたのかをお話ししたい。最後に、幕府内部や明治政府内の親フランス派とフランス軍事顧問団についても言及したい。

徳川幕府の情報管理

今日、17 世紀中葉から 19 世紀の、つまり「開港・開市」以前の徳川幕府の対外関係は、いわゆる「鎖国」という言葉で表現されている。しかし、その言葉は、19 世紀になって、

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[1] 本稿に関係する岩下の著作は以下の通り。全編にわたって参照している。『江戸のナポレオン伝説』中公新書、1999 年。『江戸の海外情報ネットワーク』吉川弘文館、2006 年。『〔改訂増補版〕幕末日本の情報活動』雄山閣出版、2008 年。「江戸時代における日露関係史上の主要事件に関する史料について」竹内誠監修『外国人が見た近世日本』角川学芸出版、2009 年。岩下・小美濃清明編『坂本龍馬の世界認識』藤原書店、2010 年。「一八世紀〜一九世紀初頭における露・英の接近と近世日本の変容」笠谷和比古編『一八世紀日本の文化状況と国際環境』思文閣出版、2011 年。『江戸将軍が見た地球』メディアファクトリー新書、2011 年。岩下編『江戸時代来日外国人人名辞典』東京堂出版、2011 年。『日本のインテリジェンス――江戸から近・現代へ』右文書院、2011 年。

来日ドイツ人ケンペルの表現を日本人が翻訳造語したものである[2]。かつ、その言葉の持つ意味は、実はかなり複雑な様相を呈していて、実態は多岐にわたる。

思うに近世の対外関係の眼目、つまり為政者の最大の関心は、体制を揺るがしかねないキリスト教の禁令（1612 年）であることは論をまたない。キリスト教の流入を防ぐには、海外からの人・物・情報の管理・統制を十分に行う必要があった。そのために、以下の政策が矢継ぎ早にとられたと言ってよいだろう。

すなわち、長崎奉行を設置し長崎を直轄地化した（1633 年）。そのうえで、日本人の海外渡航を禁止し（1635 年）、ポルトガル船の来航も禁止した（1639 年）。加えてオランダ人を出島に軟禁状態にし（1641 年）、幕府直営貿易は長崎に限定、それも唐（中国）・蘭（オランダ）のみとした。これにより海外情報はオランダと中国に多くを依存する体制ができあがった（そのほかには偶然漂着した異国人からの情報、偶然にも帰国できた漂流民の情報があった）。長崎（港）の防衛は、福岡・佐賀・大村藩の軍役として担当させた。一方、幕府は対アイヌ民族交易は松前藩（1604 年）に、対朝鮮王国応接は対馬藩（1607 年〜）に、対琉球王国応接は薩摩藩（1609 年、1634 年〜）に担当させた。また、寛永期には、海岸防備と通報システムを全国に張り巡らし、オランダ人には、その忠節の証として、定期的な海外情報たるオランダ風説書を提出させた（1644 年〜、ただし制度化は 1659 年）[3]。こうして、実態としてのいわゆる「鎖国」が成立したのである。ただし、近年、中国の海禁政策の研究成果をもとに「海禁」と呼ぶこともある[4]。ただこの用語も、使用されたのは近世後期で家光時代からの対外関係を直接示す言葉ではない。私見では便宜的に、いわゆる「鎖国」が適当と考える。

ゴロヴニーン事件と「ムール獄中上表」について

上記のごとく、徳川幕府の対外関係、いわゆる「鎖国」は、外交文書・使節の交換関係にある「通信の国」としての琉球・朝鮮と直轄貿易を行う「通商の国」としての中国（明・清）とオランダに限定されていた。ところが、16 世紀後半にロシアが極東に進出しはじめ[5]、18 世紀中葉には日本近海にデンマーク出身士官スパンベア指揮のロシア軍艦が出没し[6]、18 世紀末には「開港・開市」（通商）を求めるロシア使節ラクスマンの根室来航

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2 大島明秀『「鎖国」という言説——ケンペル著・志筑忠雄訳「鎖国論」の受容史』ミネルヴァ書房、2009 年参照。

3 松方冬子『オランダ風説書と近世日本』東京大学出版会、2007 年、同『オランダ風説書』中公新書、2010 年参照。

4 荒野泰典『近世日本と東アジア』東京大学出版会、1988 年；荒野泰典他編『近世的世界の成熟』（日本の対外関係 6）吉川弘文館、2010 年参照。

5 ロシア南下の実態については、秋月俊幸『日本北辺の探検と地図の歴史』北海道大学図書刊行会、1999 年および平川新『開国への道』（日本の歴史・江戸時代・19 世紀）小学館、2008 年が詳しい。なおこの近世後期の対外関係に関しては、藤田覚『近世後期政治史と対外関係』東京大学出版会、2005 年参照。また以下の研究も参照した。郡山良光『幕末日露関係史研究』国書刊行会、1980 年。大熊良一『幕末北方関係史考』近藤出版社、1990 年。木村汎『日露国境交渉史』中央公論新社、1993 年。

6 長島要一『日本デンマーク交流史 1600–1873』東海大学出版会、2007 年参照。

があった[7]。さらに19世紀初頭には同じくロシアのレザーノフの長崎来航と幕府の拒絶にあって、レザーノフの部下が腹いせのように行った蝦夷地襲撃[8]によって、徳川幕府は北方への警戒を強めていた。すなわち、幕府直轄たる蝦夷地では、ロシアの来襲に備え最高度の警戒態勢をとっていたのである。

1811年、北太平洋の測量のため、日本に接近しつつあったロシア海軍ディアナ号艦長ゴロヴニーンは、そうとは知らず、国後島に少人数で上陸したところを幕府側に捕縛され、松前に監禁された[9]。ディアナ号に残った副艦長リゴルドは報復措置として、幕府御用商人高田屋嘉兵衛を捕え、のち双方の人質交換が成立して、1813年この一件は決着した。これによりロシア人は約束を守る、よき隣人との印象を幕府に与えたのである。なお、現代の日本でこのように考える日本人は少ないのが実情である。

さらにこの時、ゴロヴニーンとともに監禁された一行の中にムール少尉というロシア軍人がいた。松前に監禁された直後の1812年にゴロヴニーンらは脱獄を図るが、ムールだけは脱獄しなかった。絵心があったムールは、その描く絵を通して日本人と良好なコミュニケーションをとることができるようになり、日本に帰化して日本政府（幕府）の外国語通訳として働きたいとの希望を持つに至ったのである[10]。なお、これは長島要一氏のいう「文化の翻訳」[11]の原初的状態がムールに生じたのではないかと分析できる。すなわち、長島氏によれば「文化の翻訳」は、「世界を『他者』の目で見ることの出来る能力、自分の文化的背景を他者のそれに照射して、自他の文化の総体を俯瞰できるバイカルチャルの能力」とされる。ムールが、日本とロシアの文化の総体を俯瞰できたとは思わないが、少なくとも日本にシンパシーを覚え、日本に帰化して日本政府のために外国語の通訳になるためには、ロシアを相対的に見て、ロシア国家からの離脱を考えたわけで、ロシア自体を相対的に見ていたことを示しており、「文化の翻訳」状態がムールに生じつつあったと考える。

ともかくムールはゴロヴニーンと同一の行動（脱獄）をとらなかったのである。おそらくムールは史上初の日本帰化熱望ロシア人として特筆されるべき人物である。ところで、獄中に残ったムールは、のちに「ムール獄中上表」と名づけられる、日露関係史上のみならず、対外関係史上重要な資料を作成した。ロシア語で書かれた上表は、ロシア通詞村上貞助らによって日本語に翻訳され、松前奉行を経由して幕府老中に上申された。

上表の内容は、上表を書くに至った心情、レザーノフの長崎来航、ゴロヴニーンの職務とその活動、レザーノフの部下フボストフの蝦夷地襲撃、ゴロヴニーンの脱獄事件、ロシア国情、ヨーロッパおよびナポレオン情報である。いずれも当時の幕府にとって重要な情報であるが、ここでは特に近世日本として重大なナポレオン情報に関して述べておく。

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7 木崎良平『光太夫とラクスマン』刀水書房、1992年、および生田美智子『外交儀礼から見た幕末日露文化交流史』ミネルヴァ書房、1999年参照。

8 木崎良平『仙台漂民とレザノフ』刀水書房、1997年、および松本英治「19世紀はじめの日露関係とオランダ商館」『開国以前の日露関係』東北大学東北アジア研究センター、2006年参照。

9 真鍋重忠『日露関係史』吉川弘文館、1978年参照。

10「ムール獄中上表」の写本の一つ「魯西亜人モウル存寄書」（国際日本文化研究センター所蔵）および『日本幽囚記』岩波文庫、1943～46年参照。

11 長島要一「『文化の翻訳』と先駆者森鷗外」『鷗外』第88号（2011年）参照。

実は文献上最初のナポレオン情報は、この「ムールの獄中上表」なのである。これまで、1813年に日本にもたらされたロシア語新聞のナポレオンの記事が最初といわれていたが、1812年のこの上表が、文献上、現在知られる最も古いナポレオン情報なのである。つまりオランダ商館が、ナポレオンをひた隠しに隠したため、ナポレオン情報は南の長崎ではなく北の蝦夷地、それも偶然捕縛されたゴロヴニーン一行からもたらされたのである。そして、リゴルドがもたらした前述のロシア語新聞に、オランダの首都アムステルダムがナポレオンの勅令によりナポレオン帝国の第三の都市になったと書かれていたことから、長崎出島のオランダ商館に真偽の程が問い合わされた。

それに対する長崎のオランダ人の言い訳がふるっている。

「そういうこともあるかもしれないが、私は知らない。」

こういわれても幕府には確かめるすべはなかった。やはり西洋関係の情報ルートが一つでは限界があったのだ。

幕府天文方のヨーロッパにおける出版計画

だが、当時、幕府における最高水準の西洋学術・知識の調査研究機関であった、天文方（本来は暦や各種地図を作製する機関）はひるんではいなかった。

1816年、ゴロヴニーンがロシアで『日本幽囚記』を刊行した。これがオランダ経由で長崎から幕府天文方にもたらされた。1825年、早速天文方でオランダ語版を翻訳したところ、「ムール獄中上表」と相違する箇所がいくつも見つかったのである。ムールは日本にシンパシーをもって上表したが、ゴロヴニーンはそうではなかったこともあろう。ムールの方を先に読んでいた天文方は、ゴロヴニーンの言は正しくないと考えた。そして、「ムール獄中上表」の諸本を収集し、定本を確定して、それをオランダ語に翻訳し、さらには、オランダ商館に依頼して、アムステルダム等ヨーロッパで出版を計画した。ムールとゴロヴニーン、どちらが正しいか、ヨーロッパの人々に判断してもらおうと考えていた[12]。この計画の推進者であった書物奉行兼天文方高橋景保が、1828年のシーボルト事件で失脚しなければ、実現していたかもしれない。高橋があれほどシーボルトに肩入れしたのは、シーボルトを介して、アムステルダムでの出版を実現したかったからと考えられる。高橋のもともとの思惑は、もちろんヨーロッパ情報を入手することもあったが、逆に、日本発の情報をヨーロッパで発信することもあったのではないかと考えている。そうであれば、これなどは、実に高度な、幕府一部機関の情報取集活動（インテ

[12] 注10「魯西亜人モウル存寄書」では「ゴロウインは新都に帰りて爵一級を陞せられ、躬其始末を詳記し遭厄日本紀事二策を著せり、予去年紀事和訳浄書の旨を蒙り其の書を反復するにゴロウイン彼か出奔の儀に加はらさるを恨みモールを反賊たりと記し誹謗すること甚し、今此書を視るにモール豈反賊ならんや、ゴロウインか徒のモールの訴に従はさりしこと惜しむべけれ、実にゴロウインか出奔せしは己か誤にして魯西亜王国の恥辱と謂ふべし、而ゴロウインたとひモールか異見にい従はさりしを愉すとも豈に己か非を悟り死セしモールを詈り記するに忍ふべけんや、夷情黠恨悪むへきのミ、此書ことくモールか願の如く魯西亜人の手に入らは、孰か是孰か非百年の後必長嘆息するものあらん」と記されている。また同書には全編にわたり諸本との校訂が施されており、定本を確定しようとしていたことが明らかである。本史料に関しては、松田清『洋学の書誌的研究』臨川書店、1998年も参照。

リジェンス）と言ってよいだろう。情報を収集するだけでなく情報を発信してヨーロッパの世論を変えようという画期的な企画である。こうしたことを構想した江戸人がいたことを私たち日本人は誇りに思うべきであろう。

ただし、こうしたことは、実はひとり天文方だけではなく、蘭学者たちも考えていたことである。たとえば1774年の『解体新書』訳述も、漢文で書かれたのは、日本のみならず、漢字文化圏、特に中国において読まれることを想定していたといわれる。それゆえに現在でも中国の医学用語の中には日本経由のものもあるという。また、幕府医官桂川甫周は、オランダ・アカデミーの会員にも推薦されている。こうなると、もはや、いわゆる「鎖国」は、天文方や蘭学者の願いとは相容れないものとなっていく。つまり日本の行く末を思えば思うほど、現時点でさらなる情報収集活動を阻んでいる、いわゆる「鎖国」は足枷以外の何物でもない。それが変わらない以上、インテリジェンス活動は隠密的なものにならざるを得ない。ところが時としてそれが、発覚する。1828年のシーボルト事件、1839年の蕃社の獄がそれである。これらの事件はそうした芽をも摘み取ってしまうかに見えた。

その後のナポレオン情報

先に述べた、天文方の高橋景保は、オランダ商館長の服装の変化からヨーロッパ情勢の変転を察知し、ナポレオン情報をも収集した。その結果が、1826年の『丙戌異聞』『別埒阿利安戦記』だった。前者は、ナポレオンの簡単な伝記、後者はワーテルローの戦いに特化した戦記である。しかし、景保がシーボルト事件で獄死したため、その研究は、岸和田藩医で幕府天文方蕃書和解御用に任命された小関三英に受け継がれた。

三英は景保の仕事を批判的に継承し、略伝である『ト那把盧的略伝』（1829年頃）、さらに1832年から蕃社の獄で自殺する1839年まで『那波列翁伝』を翻訳した。特に後者は、アミアンの和約までで終わっており、ナポレオンの伝記としては中途であるが、フランス革命への言及もあり、またナポレオンの伝記としては江戸時代もっとも詳しいものである。後に浜松藩医牧穆中や津山藩医箕作阮甫は、これに刺激を受けさらに充実したナポレオンの伝記を目指した。また、田原藩士松岡与権は三英による伝記を1857年に刊行し、さらにそれらを読んだ松代藩儒佐久間象山、長州藩士吉田松陰はナポレオンに関する漢詩を作り、薩摩藩士西郷隆盛は自らとナポレオンを重ねるなど、幕末の志士に大きな影響を及ぼした。

ほかにも古河藩家老鷹見泉石は、イタリア戦役の銅版画、鉛製の兵隊人形やネルソン記念小物入れなどオランダ渡りのナポレオン関連グッズを蒐集し、さらにはオランダ一国のみの詳細な地図を作製しているが、これもナポレオン情報が及ぼした影響と言えるだろう。

そのほか、最幕末の1867年には、福地源一郎が『那破倫兵法』を著した。これは、来るべき戊辰の実戦に備えたものと考えられる。

おわりに

1867年、最後の将軍徳川慶喜は、いわゆる「大政奉還」の建白書（実態は「政権奉帰の建白書」で、「大政」を「奉還」するとは書いていない）を朝廷に提出した。この時点ではまだ政権を返すと言っているだけで、完全に返したのではない[13]。慶喜が目指したのは、ナポレオン帝国であり、自らがナポレオンになることだった。しかし、王政復古、天皇親政が決定的になって、慶喜のもくろみは大きく外れた。ナポレオンになったのは明治天皇だったのである[14]。

それでも、幕府陸軍のフランス軍事顧問団ジュール・ブリュネらは、榎本武揚らと箱館まで転戦し、四稜郭を構築する指導までした[15]。フランス士官は、旧幕府軍の中にいた親フランス派に共鳴していたのである。そして驚くべきことに明治政府は1882年と1895年、ブリュネに勲章をも授与している[16]。明治政府の中にも親フランス派はいたのである。これは幕府や明治政府を問わず、ナポレオンの伝記が当時の日本人にいかに広く読まれたかを示しており、ナポレオン情報が近世後期、幕末維新、明治と求められた証左なのである。

ナポレオンは、1821年にセントヘレナ島で死んだが、47年後の戊辰戦争でも、73年後の日清戦争でも、そして192年後の今日でも忘れ去られずに、我々の心の中に生きている[17]。

付記　シンポジウムでは、多くの方からご質問・ご意見をいただき、大変ありがたかった。頂戴した課題を果たしていないことをお詫び申し上げる。

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13 岩下哲典『高橋泥舟――高邁なる幕臣』教育評論社、2012年参照。

14 明治政府が作ろうとした明治天皇のイメージは武人的天皇であるが、そのイメージの源流はナポレオンであろうと思われる。これに関しては、拙著『江戸将軍が見た地球』で少し触れたことがある。

15 片山宏「ジュール・ブリュネと大鳥圭介」片桐一男編『日蘭交流史　その人・物・情報』思文閣出版、2002年参照。

16 澤護『お雇いフランス人の研究』敬愛大学経済文化研究所、1991年参照。

17 シンポジウムでは、課題として以下の事を最後に述べた（要旨）。
今後は、「ムール獄中上表」を英訳して、ゴロヴニーンの『日本幽囚記』とは別の視角をもった日本研究資料をヨーロッパやロシアの方々に提供したい。特に日本に帰化を希望したロシア人の事績は、最高に冷え切った日露両国の外交関係に一筋の光明となろう。なおムールの存在を今に伝える遺物として、ライフル自殺をしたムールのためにゴロヴニーンがペトロパブロフスク・カムチャツキーに建てた墓石があると言われるが、いまだ誰も確認していない。これもぜひ現地で確認したい。ともかく、「ムール獄中上表」のもっとも重要な写本が日文研に所蔵されておりそれを日文研が主催する海外シンポジウム、それもロシアに距離的に近い北欧で紹介できたことは大変ありがたく思う。考えてみるとムールの思いを200年ぶりに紹介できたことになる。本シンポジウム開催に尽力された、長島要一先生、佐野真由子先生はじめ諸先生方に感謝申し上げる。

もう一つの「近代（モダン）」ロード
―― 19 世紀の日欧交流における広東、上海の役割

Another Path towards "Modern": Roles of Canton and Shanghai in the Japan-West Interchange during the Nineteenth Century

劉　建輝
Liu Jianhui

近代東アジアの濫觴――窓口としての広州十三行

伝統貿易体制「広東システム」の成立

本論は、東アジアの近代の起点を従来のアヘン戦争が起こった 1840 年代ではなく、それより前の 1810 年代とする立場をとる。これは、いわば従来の制度上の転換だけではなく、その制度的転換、この場合はアヘン戦争という結果をもたらした一連のプロセスを考慮し、政治や経済のみならず、文化的背景をも視野に入れて振り返る時、そう認識すべき以下の二つの主な理由に基づいている。

一つは、近代資本主義、具体的にはグローバルな自由貿易体制がすでに 1810 年代には中国の南部、広州十三行に忍び寄り、在来の帝国が独占する貿易体制（広東システム）を徐々に転覆させ、そして最終的には武力によって、中国ないし東アジア全体を「開放」させたこと。もう一つは、この自由貿易体制を代表する列強諸国、とりわけ英米の個人商人たちが合法・非合法的に広州に潜入し、従来の外国人商館十三行を中心に、現地の人々を抱え込んだ形で、まがりなりにも一つの近代的空間を形成し、その後中国各地で成立する租界の祖形を作り出した。そして彼らに交じって、プロテスタントの宣教師たち、中でもその先駆者であるロバート・モリソンが 1807 年に広州に上陸し、以降、彼を中心に中国、そして東アジア全体（ガンジス河以東）にキリスト教および西洋文化を広め始めたことである。以下、きわめて概略的ではあるが、この二つの事象について簡単に紹介し、それぞれの歴史的な意味を問うてみたいと思う。

まず、近代資本主義・自由貿易体制の浸透であるが、これを理解するために、従来のいわゆる広東システムという帝国独占的貿易体制から説明しなければならない。

周知の通り、清王朝が成立した当初、鄭成功治下の台湾をはじめ、周辺の在来勢力がきわめて活発に抵抗活動を展開していたため、一時、海外との交流・交易をすべて断ち切る「遷海令」という海禁令を出した。その後、幾度かの内乱を平定し、また台湾の鄭氏一族の投降を受け、康熙 23（1684）年、かつての「遷海令」を海外との交流・交易を許可する「展海令」に変え、上海・寧波・廈門・広州の四都市に海関（税関）を設け、比較的

積極的な対外交易政策をとり始めた。そしてこの四海関交易体制は、さまざまな問題を抱えながらも康熙から雍正、さらに乾隆時代までおよそ 70 年以上続いた。ところが、乾隆 20（1750）年代になると、粤（広州）海関管轄官僚の贈賄要求が増大する一方となり、これにイギリスをはじめとする外国商人がついに不満を爆発させ、乾隆帝に直接抗議する一方、粤海関を避け、閩（廈門）海関、さらに浙（寧波）海関にまで廻り、従来ほとんど交渉のなかった北方地域において交易活動を始めた。不意を突かれた乾隆帝は、海防上の不安や内地への影響を危惧し、ただちにその阻止に入り、乾隆 22（1757）年に西洋諸国とのあらゆる交易を広州の粤海関だけに限定するという勅令を出した。以来、江（上海）海関と浙海関（実際は浙江乍浦港）が主に日本、閩海関（実際は福州港）が主に琉球、そして粤海関がその他のあらゆる南洋・西洋諸国との交易関係を担当するいわゆる「一口通商」体制が明確に成立し、阿片戦争の敗北に基づく 1842 年の「五港通商」開始まで、およそ 80 年近く存続した。

広東システムとは、つまり粤海関の成立から「五港通商」開始までの約 160 年間、広東＝広州において西洋各国の東インド会社と清王朝が指定した対外貿易商――十三行商人の間で行われた両者による独占的な貿易体制を指すのであり、その仕組みはおよそ以下のようになっている。

まず各国の貿易船が広州に来航し、交易を行おうとする場合、必ず十三行商人の中から一名の「保商」（保証人）を選び、その管轄下で輸出入の業務を進めなければならない。舶来した商品を保商に委託して販売してもらい、そして購入しようとする商品は保商を通じて買い集め、上納すべき関税も彼らを通して「海関」に納入する。保商の下には通事（輸出入・関税関連書類の作成・提出等を担当）、買弁（財務管理・商品確認・滞在期間中の生活上の世話等を担当）などがおり、あらゆる方便を提供する一方、完全に相手を監督することにもなっている。対して、各貿易船の船長また代表は、大班と呼ばれていたが、来航中に保商から租借した十三行商館（中国側は夷館と呼ぶ）に滞在し、所属会社の商品売買業務を進めながら、割り当てられた個人自由売買商品の処理や保商を通しての税関監督との交渉、部下や船員の管理、また場合によっては地方・中央官吏への賄賂も行わなければならない。

ただ、以上はあくまで十三行貿易の基本的な仕組みで、160 年の間、時期と情況によってその運営にはかなりの違いも見られた。たとえば、両者の独占できる商品品目は当初は相当広い範囲にわたっていたが、最終的には主に茶葉と生糸に限られた。また双方とも当初の単独運営からそれぞれ組織的に連帯責任を持つ十三行公行と全体的責任を持つ管理委員会（初期は現地の大班だけで構成されたが、後に英国東インド会社本部派遣のメンバーを含む特選委員会へ）が立ち上げられた。そして初期の規定では、大班たちは航行に有利な季節（9 月頃～ 2 月頃）は業務執行のため十三行に滞在し、それ以外の期間はマカオに退去しなければならなかったが、いつの間にか通年で滞在するようになり、一時の租借地でありながらその空間を完全に外国人商館街に仕立て上げたのである。

粤海関設立後、最初に広州貿易を始めたのはオランダ人だったが、しかしなぜか十三行に正式に商館を設けたのはおよそ 40 年後の 1727 年であった。それに比べ、イギリス東インド会社は早くも 1716 年に大規模な商館を構え、積極的にイギリスーインドー広州

航路の交易を進めた。イギリス、オランダに次いで1728年にフランス東インド会社、そして1732年にスウェーデン東インド会社もそれぞれ商館を設立した。最後にやってきたのはアメリカ（1786年、広州に担当領事を置く）だったが、しかし後述するように、その貿易量は新興国の逞しい上昇力に相応しく、またたく間にイギリスと肩を並べ、広州貿易を支えるもう一方の主役となったのである。

十三行は、正式には外洋行と言い、数量的にも増減があり、必ずしも常に13行とは限らない。最多時は26行（1757年）もあり、最少時はただの4軒（1781年）しかなかった。その資格は、まず相当の資本＝資産がなければならず、さらに有力な推薦人（官僚または既存洋行商人）の保証に基づき、地方政府の審査を経て初めて認められるのである。十三行商人は外国商人との交渉においてすべての責任を負わされ、半ば「官商」、半ば「外交官」的な性格を持っているが、その上には粤海関監督、広東巡撫、さらに両広総督が常に君臨しており、内外に挟まれたその立場はきわめて弱い。そして相当豊潤な利益（取引商品の購入価格と売却価格による十数%から数十%の差額および手数料など）を稼ぐことができた一方、中央・地方公共事業への献金、連帯責任による破産同業者債務の返済、朝廷貢品（主に西洋舶来贅沢品）の負担、災害時等の公益事業への寄付などが大きな重圧となり、突然破産するケースも多々見られた。ただ、それでも有力な商人はやはり莫大な富を築き、想像を絶するほどの贅沢な生活を送っていた。ちなみに、19世紀初頭の十三行において、潘氏一族の同文行、伍氏一族の怡和行、盧氏一族の広利行、梁氏一族の天宝行などが最も有力な洋行とされており、中でも、怡和行はアメリカ本土の保険・証券・鉄道建設などにまで投資を広げ、当時の世界の最大の資産家として広く名を轟かせていたのである。

「広東システム」の崩壊と「自由貿易」時代の到来

以上は十三行貿易＝広東システムの大まかな制度的特徴と運営状況であるが、120年以上も続いていたこの交易体制が、19世紀に入るとにわかに各方面から挑戦を受け、あっけなく崩壊し始めた。きっかけは、外的には従来イギリス東インド会社の下請けを担当してきた港脚商（主にインド・広州間の貿易に従事した商人グループ）や、新たに現れた個人貿易商人（当初は東インド会社の認可が必要）、新参者のアメリカ人商人などの「散商」の台頭、内的には同じく主に十三行商人の下請けを務めてきたいわゆる「行外商」や阿片等の密輸入に従事する地方商人の勢力拡大であるが、1813年のインドにおけるイギリス東インド会社独占権の廃止と1833年の広州における同会社独占権の廃止という制度上の転換がそれを決定的なものにしたと言える。

個人貿易商人をはじめとする「散商」の動向だが、その多くは中国に会社を構えていなかったため、全体像がきわめて把握しづらい。ここでは、広州に本店か支店を置き、比較的長く活躍したものに限って簡単に紹介しておく。

十三行における散商たちの経営形態は、それぞれ資本規模が小さいためか当初から統廃合を繰り返し、その幾つかが雪だるま式にどんどん勢力を拡大し、最終的には貿易全体を左右するほどの大商社に発展していったのである。

たとえば、1872 年に柯克斯（Cox）、比爾（Beale）、理徳（Reid）の三人によって設立された柯克斯・理徳洋行（Cox, Beale & Co. 当初は本部マカオ、支店広州）が 1791 年に柯克斯の死去によって理徳・比爾行（Reid, Beale & Co.）に、その後 1803 年に今度は麦尼克（Magnic）の加入によって比爾・麦尼克洋行（Beale, Magnic & Co.）に、そして 1819 年に比爾の脱退によって単独麦尼克洋行（Magnic & Co.）へ、さらに 1825 年の渣甸（Jardine、1819 年来粤）の加入、1828 年の馬地臣（Matheson、1819 年の泰勒・馬地臣洋行 Taylor, Matheson & Co.、1821 年の伊沙瑞行 Yrissari & Co. を経て）の加入、1831 年の麦尼克の脱退を受けて、ついに 1832 年にかの有名な渣甸・馬地臣行（Jardine, Matheson & Co. ジャーティン・マセソン商会、後、中国名怡和洋行を名乗る）に発展したのである。

また、1807 年にイギリス東インド会社の大班巴林（Baring）によって創設された巴林洋行（Baring & Co.）が、その後同じ大班の仲間である莫隆奈（Moloney）、羅伯茨（Robarts）の参加によって、巴林・英隆奈・羅伯茨洋行（Baring, Moloney & Robarts & Co.）となり、そして大班の個人経営が東インド会社によって禁止されてから、新たに加入した達衛森（Davidson）の手に移って達衛森行（Davidson & Co.）として再スタートし、1823 年の顛地（Dent）の加入を経て翌 1824 年に顛地行（Dent & Co. デント商会、中国名宝順洋行）へと変身したのである。

以上は全部イギリス人、とりわけスコットランド出身者が経営する洋行の移り変わりであるが、その複雑な統廃合に比べ、新参者、アメリカ系の商人の進出は比較的単純である。1818 年に創立された羅素行（Samuel Russell & Co.）が 1824 年に旗昌洋行（Russell & Co. ラッセル商会）に変更されただけで、1828 年に成立した奥立芬洋行（Olyphant & Co. オリファント商会、中国名同孚洋行）は最後まで設立当初の体制を維持していた。ちなみに必ずしも正確な数字ではないが、1832 年の段階で広州にはすでに大小 66 社の洋行が存在し、その五年後の 1837 年になると一気に 150 社にまで増加したという。そしてやや遡るが、1828 年の中英貿易において、中国への輸出では、2,030 万ドルのうち、東インド会社が 450 万ドルを占め、残りの 1,580 万ドルは全部散商によるもの（むろん大半は阿片の密輸）で、逆に英国への輸出では、1,810 万ドルのうち、東インド会社が 850 万ドル、散商が 960 万ドルをそれぞれ占め、こちらも若干散商が上回っている[1]。在来の広東システムがもう半ば機能しなくなり、いよいよ散商＝自由貿易者の時代が到来したと言えよう。

外国散商のこれらの活躍に対して、中国側の行外商も負けてはいない。中でも小商舗はもともと十三行商人の独占する大宗商品（茶・生糸など）以外の雑貨（陶磁器・薬材・地方特産品など）を取り扱う店舗として 1755 年時点ですでに 100 軒以上が存在し、その一部が行商の下請けや提供商としても活躍していた。ただ在来の東インド会社と行商が断然優遇される体制の下ではその経営できる商品品目が大きく制限され、長い間きわめて低い地位に甘んじてきた。しかし、前記のイギリスやアメリカの散商が徐々に頭角を現し、東インド会社以上に貿易量を増やすにつれ、彼らの行外商と直接、自由に交易しようとする要望に応える形でどんどん勢力を増し、1807 年の段階では少なくとも 200 軒

1　格林堡『鴉片戦争前中英通商史』商務印書館、1951 年。

以上も確認できるようになっていた。そしてウィリアム・ジャーディンによれば、彼が広州に来た当初（1820 年前後）、すでに行商より行外商との取引の方が量的に上回っていたという[2]。

行外商は、行商とそれによる貿易システムを脅かす存在として、その後ろにある清朝政府からの管理・監督は時にきわめて厳しいものであった。しかしその都度、外国人散商の支援や官僚への贈賄などによって苦境を乗り越えたばかりか、徐々に行商の権益を奪い取り、その独占してきた商品品目を少しずつ自らのものにしていった。特に彼らが最大の「輸入品」である鴉片に加え、最大の輸出品である茶葉と生糸を合法・非合法的に扱うようになり、それらの莫大な利益に引き寄せられて、もともと行商の下にいた通事や買弁たちもその仲間に次々と参入してきたところで、百数十年続いてきた「広東システム」はその後の廃止決定（アヘン戦争後の 1842 年に十三行が解散された）を待たず、ほとんど死に体同然となったのである。

浸透する「近代」――拠点としての十三行とその周辺

流入する新しい「装置」

このように、19 世紀初頭、広州十三行においてはすでに大いに「近代」的な性格を持つ比較的自由な貿易体制と、それに従事する数多くの外国人散商・行外商たちが存在していた。そしてまさに彼らの活躍または暗躍によって、十三行とその周辺はいよいよ後の各開港地の租界を彷彿させるような空間に仕立てられ始めたのである。たとえば、貿易商品の取引上、外貨と紋銀等の両替が必要だが、それを取り扱う銀舗、中でも「業務」を拡大し、珠江河口洋上の密貿易船に納品の伝票まで発行する「大窖口」と呼ばれたものが近くの川岸に 30 軒以上も林立し、厳然と小さな「銀行街」を作り出していた。ちなみに、明確な根拠はないが、後の「銀行」という言葉はたしかにこの十三行一帯から生まれたと言われている。

先ほども言及したように、いわゆる十三行の「近代性」を成立させたものとして、これらの商業的活動、中でも内外の個人貿易商社、「銀行」、仲介人（通事、買弁、馬占＝マーチャント）などの人的・物的な「装置」が大いに機能していたが、これに勝るとも劣らないのがほぼ同じ時期に次々とやってきたプロテスタントの宣教師、とりわけ彼らの、従来のカソリックとは異なる書物伝道・医療伝道等のモットーに基づいて立ち上げられた出版・教育・医療などの諸事業という文化的「装置」にほかならない。以下、その先駆者であるロバート・モリソンをはじめ、彼らが広州一円で形成したネットワークとその足跡を簡単に辿りたいと思う。

[2] 注 1 を参照。

宣教師たちの活躍

1782年、スコットランド北部に生まれたロバート・モリソンは、地元の神学院、ロンドンの宣教師養成学院を卒業した後、海外伝道に必要な牧師資格を取り、海外布教教会（差会）の一つであるロンドン会の派遣により、はるばるアメリカ経由で（直行便を持つ東インド会社に搭乗を拒否されたため）広州にやってきた。1807年、本人が25歳の時である。広州に到着した当初、当局によるキリスト教伝道への厳しい取締りのため、十三行には何とか滞在させてもらえたものの、いわゆる布教活動がほとんどできず、もっぱら中国語の勉強に明け暮れていた。しかし、一年半後、モリソンはマカオで出会ったイギリス女性マリア・モートンと晴れて結婚したのみならず、その父親（東インド会社の役員）の推薦で運よくイギリス東インド会社の中国語通訳として正式に雇用されたのである。以後、本人の伝道活動が原因で一時免職を命じられたことがあるが、ほぼ順調にこの職務に留まりながら1834年に亡くなるまで「本業」である伝道活動を営々と進めた。

広州でモリソンが最初に手掛けたのは、来中以前からすでに計画していた『聖書』の翻訳と『華英字典』の編纂であった。本人の弛まぬ努力、また中国人助手葛先生（Ko seen-sang、古典の購読、翻訳の訂正、原稿の校正などを担当）や蔡軒（Low-Heen、書物・資料の書き写し、木版の下書きなどを担当）らの助力、東インド会社の大班、スタッフたちの支援（ミニ図書館の設置、中国関連図書・資料の収集、関連資金の援助、印刷機の提供、印刷工の派遣など）もあって、ほとんど同時進行だったにもかかわらず、まず1813年に『新約聖書』の漢訳が完成し、続いて1815年、後に三巻本となった「華英・英華字典」（全巻は1822年に完成）の第一巻『字典』も上梓し、それぞれマカオで木版により印刷、出版された。

この間、これらの伝道事業のさらなる推進のため、派遣教会のロンドン会に広州への増員をたびたび要求したのが実って、1813年に彼の助手となるべき新たな仲間、ウィリアム・ミルンが夫人を連れて広州にやってきた。しかし、モリソンのような表の身分のないミルンにとって、広州での長期滞在はやはり厳しく、種々の模索と現地の視察を経て、ついに1815年、華僑の多いマラッカに伝道の拠点を置き、そこから広州を支援する体制をとることに決め、夫婦ともどもマラッカに移ったのである。

マラッカでは、ミルンは広州でモリソンから学んだ中国語の語学力を活かし、まず広州から連れてきた中国人印刷工、梁発（後に入信、中国最初の牧師）を使って印刷所を立ち上げ、中国初の伝道雑誌『察世俗毎月統記傳』（1815年創刊）を発行した。以後、本人が1822年に病死するまで七年にわたってこの雑誌を利用して、布教の内容のみならず、西洋の諸事情や諸知識を中国人に紹介し続けた。この雑誌の編集の傍ら、ミルンはまたモリソンの『旧約聖書』の翻訳の一部を手伝い、その完訳・出版（1823年）に大きく貢献した。そして、彼はモリソンの指示・支援の下で、植民地当局との交渉、資金収集等の艱難辛苦の末、とうとう1818年に伝道・出版・教育の三者を兼ねる総合宗教施設――英華書院を創立したのである。成立後、書院は一時八人の印刷工を使い、先ほどの『察世俗毎月統記傳』と『印中搜訊』（英語、インドと中国双方での伝道を目的とする季刊誌）の両雑誌を発行しながら、莫大な量の伝道出版物を刊行したのみならず、現地華僑の教育にも大いに力を入れ、1843年に香港に移るまで、まさに広州における中国伝道の後方拠

点としてたいへん重要な役割を果たしたのである。

時期が前後するが、マラッカでの伝道事業、とりわけ布教印刷物への大きな需要が見込まれた当初、ミルンを助けるために、モリソンと本人の再三の要請によって、1817 年に麦都思（メデュハースト）がミルンの助手、そして印刷技師としてロンドン会からマラッカに派遣された。到着後、彼は二年ほど印刷所の管理、『察世俗毎月統記傳』編集の手伝いなどをやっていたが、事業拡大のために、モリソンらの指示により、1819 年にバタビアに移転し、南洋におけるロンドン会のもう一つの伝道拠点を立ち上げた。

バタビアで、メデュハーストは 1823 年に『特選撮要毎月紀傳』（1826 年終刊）を創刊し、『察世俗毎月統記傳』に次ぐこの二番目の中国語伝道雑誌を編集しながら、本人の技術を生かし、彫版・石版などを使って、およそ 30 種類の中国語伝道書物を印刷・刊行した。そして、1833 年にモリソンが病気で亡くなり、広州にはロンドン会の宣教師が不在となったのを受けて、1835 年に広州にやってきた。

モリソンが病死した後、東インド会社における彼の中国語通訳の後任として採用されたのは郭実腊（ギュツラフ）というドイツ人の宣教師であった。プロシア出身のギュツラフはオランダの神学院を卒業後、オランダ伝道会の派遣で 1827 年にバタビアに到着した。バタビアで彼はメデュハーストと出会い、その影響を受ける形で、徐々に当初の予定である原住民への布教よりも中国人、さらに中国本土への伝道に熱心に取り組み始めた。1831 年から彼は中国商船、東インド会社の探察船、ジャーディンの鴉片密輸船にそれぞれ搭乗し、計三回にわたって中国沿岸部を北上しながら直接中国人への伝道の可能性を探った後、広州に落ち着き、東インド会社の雇用を受け入れた。

広州に活動拠点を据えてから、ギュツラフはさっそく『東西洋考毎月統記傳』（1833 年）という中国語の雑誌を十三行で創刊し、宗教の内容と同時に西洋の歴史や地理、また一部の政治や法律、広州当地のニュース、貿易状況などを掲載した。最多時には 1,000 部も発行されたこの雑誌は中国本土で刊行された最初の「近代」的雑誌として、その後、林則徐をはじめとする多くの中国知識人に引用され、その外国理解への先駆的な意味はきわめて大きい。なお、教育にも熱心なギュツラフはマカオ在住の夫人に女学堂（1834 年）を創設させ、少人数ながらも女子児童教育を始めていた。ちなみに彼は 1835 年に東インド会社撤退後、イギリス政府派遣の商務監督の通訳となり、1837 年にモリソン号（モリソン死去後、彼を記念して命名されたアメリカ・オリファント社所有の帆船）で、後述のウィリアムズ、パッカらとともに漂流民の返還を口実に江戸・鹿児島に来航し、それぞれ砲撃によって追い返される歴史上のモリソン号事件を起こした人物としても知られている。

ギュツラフの『東西洋考毎月統記傳』は広州で 1836 年（その後シンガポールに移り、二年間発行）まで続いたが、一時の空白期を経て、今度はメデュハーストによって新たな中国語雑誌『各国消息』（1838 年）が創刊された。石版によるこの月刊誌は、従来の一連の雑誌と違い、宗教的な色彩をできるだけ抑え、多くの記事が主に西洋事情の紹介、広州当地の商業情報に充てられたと言われているが、それはまさに後の『遐邇貫珍』（1853 年香港で創刊）、『六合叢談』（1857 年上海で創刊）と相通じる一面を持っており、メデュハースト主導下の伝道のあり方に一種の変化が生じたことを表しているのである。

ところで、モリソンは広州で活動を始めて以来、ロンドン会のみならず、機会があるたびにアメリカの各教会、とりわけ公理会に中国伝道の人員を派遣するように呼びかけ続けていた。このモリソンの熱意に応えるべく、アメリカ公理会は1830年、ついに裨治文（ブリッジマン）を広州に派遣し、アメリカ人による中国伝道の道を開こうとした。十三行に到着したブリッジマンは、モリソンの絶大な歓迎を受け、以後上海に移る（1847年）までの17年間、その期待を少しも裏切ることなく熱心に種々の事業を展開した。

ブリッジマンが広州で心血を注いだ最大の仕事は、モリソンの提案によって到着一年後に創刊された英文誌『中国叢報』（*The Chinese Repository*, 1832–51）の編集にほかならなかった。約20年間刊行され続けたこの雑誌にブリッジマンは長期にわたって携わり、世界各国に中国の歴史や文化を大量に紹介した一方、時には、門戸を開かぬ清王朝に対し、強硬な姿勢をとるべしといった論陣も張り続けていた。

『中国叢報』の編集以外に、ブリッジマンはまたモリソンと協力し、モリソン死後には本人が中心メンバーとなって、「在華キリスト教協会」（1830年）、「在華実用知識伝播会」（1834年）、モリソン教育会（1836年）、中国医務伝道会（1838年）などの組織を立ち上げ、『聖書』をはじめとする西洋書物の出版やモリソン学堂（マカオ、1839年）の創立などの事業を提唱し、その実現に奔走した。現に彼の要請で、公理会から1834年、医師で宣教師でもある伯駕（パッカ）が派遣され、翌年に十三行で眼科医局を開設した。これは本土で創立された最初の西洋医院で、後にアヘン戦争を経て1859年には博済医院に発展し、19世紀末に若き孫文が一時附属医学校で勉強し、また医者として勤めた病院として今日に至る（中山医科大学の一部）まで続いている。

また、ブリッジマンはギュツラフ同様、教育にもきわめて熱心で、早くから自宅で小さな学習塾を開き、梁発の息子である梁進徳をはじめとする五、六名の児童を教育し、とりわけ梁進徳をアヘン戦争時における中国側の対外交渉の通訳にまで育て上げたのである。ちなみにこの時のイギリス側の通訳はほかならぬモリソンの息子、馬儒翰（ジョン・R・モリソン）であり、いかにも歴史の因縁を感じさせる組み合わせだったと言わざるを得ない。

かつてメデュハーストがミルンを助けるために印刷技師としてバタビアに派遣されたと同じように、広州におけるブリッジマンの『中国叢報』の印刷・刊行をよりよく進めるために、アメリカの公理会から1833年、印刷工の衛三畏（ウィリアムズ）が中国に派遣された。十三行に到着した翌年、彼はアメリカ商館の裏に「公理会広州印刷所」を作り、『中国叢報』とともにさまざまな書籍やパンフレットの印刷に取り組んだ。そして広州当局の取締りを避け、また東インド会社の中国語活字を使用するために、1835年にさらに印刷所をマカオに移し、中国語関連書物の大量印刷も可能にした。以後、ウィリアムズも印刷工として働きながら伝道活動に加わり、まもなく公理会公認の宣教師となったのである。ウィリアムズはその後長らく『中国叢報』の編集に携わり、当誌の諸業務を終刊（1851年）まで続けていたが、彼を一気に有名にしたのはやはりペリー艦隊の漢文通訳として1853、54年の二度にわたって来日した際の活躍だったに違いない。ただその後彼は完全に公理会を離脱し、アメリカの中国駐在使節団に加わり、そして晩年見事にイェール大学の中国文学教授に転身したのである。

広州十三行の終焉とその拡散

さて、空間としての十三行商館街だが、粤海関設立の当初から広州郊外南西方の珠江に面する一角に位置し、東西約 315 メートル、南北約 170 メートルで、総面積は約 51,000 平方メートル強となっている。ここに、南北に三つのストリート（同文街・靖遠街・新豈欄）が走り、それを挟んで 13 の洋行商館がひしめいている。当局の規則上、ここはあくまで貿易期間中の一時的な取引場で、商人以外はもちろん、商人でも長期滞在ができないことになっていた。しかし現実には 1830 年代、この商館内に 300 人の外国人、800 人の中国人関係者（通事・買弁・使用人・番人等）が日々生活していたのである。ちなみに、当時の出島は 13,000 平方メートルで、常住のオランダ人は九人から十三人の間だったと言われている。面積上は十三行が四倍近くとなっている。

すでに見てきたように、このけっして広いとは言えない空間に、闇の「銀行」、出版所、学習塾、病院、またミニ図書館（約 10,000 冊の蔵書）、ダンスホール（英国館）、教会などが半ば公然と立ち並び、そしてその周りには輸出画用の工房＝画室（約 30 軒）や行商会館に併設され、現地知識人との交流の場となる文欄書院なども存在し、制度的な制限をはるかに超えた「近代性」が現出している。ちなみに、ここで流通しているのはいわゆる「広東英語」で、英語の単語を中国語順に並べて使うこの言語は「鬼話」と呼ばれ、200 年近く東西の交易を支えてきたのである。

1842 年、アヘン戦争後に結ばれた「南京条約」により、広州十三行制度が正式に廃止され、いわゆる「五口通商」の時代を迎えるようになった。かつてここで活躍していた十三行商人や買弁たち、また外国人の個人商人や宣教師たちは相次いでこの場所を離れ、まず上海や香港、そして 20 年後にはさらに長崎や横浜へと進出していった。上海における彼らの活躍はこの後に紹介するが、一つだけ記しておきたいのは、ここで醸成されたさまざまな近代的「装置」がその後実に大きな力となって、陰に陽に東アジア全体の進路を左右するものとなったことである。たとえば、ジャディーン・マセソン商会は、1840 年代に香港と上海に移り、その両地で大々的に近代的ビジネスを展開しながら、1850 年代には日本の開国に合わせていち早く長崎に代理店（トーマス・グラバー）、また横浜居留地の一番地に支店を開設し、薩摩・長州の両藩に大量の武器を輸出したばかりでなく、長州藩の留学生、伊藤博文・井上馨らの密出国をも手伝っている。

上海の衝撃――漢訳洋書の日本伝来とその意味

上海に集まる宣教師とその著作活動

アヘン戦争後、とりわけ 1840 年代後半に入ると、貿易や交通のみならず、いわゆる情報ネットワークも上海を中心に再編された。これはたとえば、アヘン戦争前から一貫して西洋情報伝達の最大の担い手であるプロテスタント宣教師たちの動向を見ればよくわかる。ちなみに、アヘン戦争後、いったん広州から五つの開港地に散らばって行ったこれらの宣教師は、この時期になると、伝道上の便宜のためと思われるが、次々と上海に集まり、貿易や交通ネットワークの中心地であるこの土地を自らの活動拠点にし始めた

のである。

プロテスタント宣教師として、最初に上海に入ったのは、イギリスロンドン会所属の麦都思（メデュハースト）と雒魏林（ロックハート）であった。二人は、上海開港直後の 1843 年に各自の従来の根拠地だった広州と舟山の定海からここに移り住んだが、その際に、彼らはもともとバタビアにあったロンドン会の印刷所と定海にあったロックハートの診療所を一緒にこの新天地に移転させた。そして後述するように、それぞれ墨海書館と仁済医館と命名されたこの二つの施設に、後に同じロンドン会所属の教会――天安堂も加わり、三者はメデュハーストの中国名＝麦都思にちなんだ「麦家圏」（今の山東路付近）という場所で大いに発展し、ロンドン会のみならず、上海におけるプロテスタント全会派の一大活動拠点となったのである。

メデュハーストは、前述のように、もともとロバート・モリソンに付いていわゆる南洋でプロテスタント伝道に従事し、モリソン没後は、実質上その後継者として、ロンドン会の中国伝道における中心的な役割を果たしてきた存在である。したがってその彼の上海移住は非常に重要な意味を持っており、それは極端に言えば上海がプロテスタント伝道の新たな中心地となることをそのまま示しているような出来事でさえある。現にその後、彼の監督下にある墨海書館は 15 年以上にもわたってキリスト教出版界に君臨し、25 万部近くの漢訳聖書[3]と 171 種類の漢文伝道書や科学書を世に送り出し、彼個人や墨海書館などの存在に引き寄せられて三十数名の宣教師が相次いでこの土地に居住するようになったのである[4]。

そしてその宣教師たちの多くが、伝道のかたわら、あるいは自ら著述し、あるいは欧米学者の著書を翻訳する形で、実にさまざまな西洋知識を中国に紹介した。それらの著作の主なものを分野ごとに紹介すると、たとえば、天文・地理学では、慕維廉（ミュアーヘッド）が 1853 年から 54 年にかけて『地理全志』を著し、西洋近代地理学について従来の人文地理学のみならず、自然地理学の内容も加えて詳細かつ簡明に解説した。また韓理哲（ウェイ）（寧波を根拠地にしていた）が、1856 年に自著の『地球図説』を大幅に改訂し、まだ中国の知識人に十分に認知されていなかった地球球体説や太陽中心説の説明と各国国勢の紹介に努めた。そしてこれは作者の著述ではないが、偉烈亜力（ワイリー）が 1859 年に、かつてイギリス天文学会の会長も務めた侯失勒（ジョン・ハーシェル）・約翰の名著『天文学概論』（*Outlines of Astronomy*、1849 年初版）を『談天』という書名で翻訳し、コペルニクスからケプラー、そしてニュートンに至るまでの西洋近代天文学の流れとその最新の研究成果を体系的に紹介したのである。

次いで歴史学では、同じミュアーヘッドが 1856 年にトーマス・ミルナーの『英国史』（*The History of England*）を『大英国志』として漢訳し、「政教の美が東西州に冠を為す」「全盛の国」（漢文序文）であるイギリスの二千年の歴史を王朝ごとに辿ったが、中でもその政治制度については、「巴力門議会」（国会）の「労爾徳士」（上院）と「高門士」（下院）の二院制や、「推選」の制限選挙制、下院の主導的な立場などを簡潔に解説し、従来の魏源の『海国図志』などではっきりと説明できなかった知識を明確に提示した。また前述のブリッジマンは自らの『美理哥合省国志略』の再増補版として 1861 年に『聯邦志略』

3　阮仁沢・高振農編『上海宗教史』上海人民出版社、1992 年。
4　張仲礼編『東南沿海都市と中国近代化』上海人民出版社、1996 年。

を著述し、新興国であるアメリカの独立史をはじめ、その政治、経済、教育、宗教、それに各州の具体的な情況などについてきわめて体系的に紹介した。

そして数学・物理学では、ワイリーがまず1863年に『数学啓蒙』を著し、西洋数学の初歩的な知識を解説したほか、続いて1857年にマテオ・リッチが前半しか訳せなかったユークリッドの『原論』（*Elements*）の後半を『続幾何原本』として訳し、リッチの翻訳から250年を経てついにこの古代ギリシャの名著を完訳した。その後彼は1858年に『重学浅説』を刊行し、初めて漢文によって力学を中心とする西洋近代物理学についての解説を試みる一方、翌年にはさらにイギリス数学者棣麼甘（ド・モルガン）の『代数初歩』（1835年）を『代数学』、アメリカ数学者羅密士（ルーミス）の『解析幾何と微積分初歩』（1850年）を『代微積拾級』という書名で翻訳し、特に後者において初めて西洋近代数学の知識を中国に紹介したのみならず、同時に多くの新しい数学用語、たとえば係数・函数・変数・微分・積分なども作り出したのである。

これらの分野以外でも、たとえば医学ではロックハートの後を継いで仁済医館の管理を任せられた合信（ホブソン）の『全体新論』（1851年広州初版、1855年墨海書館再版）、『西医略論』（仁済医館、1857年）、『婦嬰新説』（仁済医館、1858年）、『内科新説』（同左）や、博物・生物学では同じホブソンの『博物新編』（1855年広州初版、同年墨海書館再版）、韋廉臣（ウイリアムソン）の『植物学』（墨海書館、1859年）など、いわゆるプロテスタント宣教師による漢訳洋書は実に枚挙に暇がないほど多数存在している。そして彼らのまさに瞠目すべき活躍によって、上海は急速に西洋情報発信地として発展し、1850年代後半に至っては完全に自らを中心とする一大情報ネットワークを形成していたのである。

漢訳洋書の日本伝来

1850年代以降、上海の墨海書館などから刊行された大量の漢訳洋書は、元はと言えば、すべて宣教師たちが中国への伝道の道を開拓すべく、中国知識人を啓蒙し、中国の「開国」を促進するために著述されたものである。現に、それはある程度中国社会に浸透し、いささかの「衝撃」を引き起こしたのも事実である。しかし残念ながら、その後、中国においてそれら書物の伝える内容を本格的に受容し、さらに消化するまでにはなお半世紀以上もの時間がかかった。むろんこれには、たとえば外来の事物をなかなか受け入れられない中華意識の存在とか、科挙制度によるエリート知識人の束縛とか、実に数多くの原因が考えられる。それを究明することも非常におもしろい作業ではあるが、それはこのたびのテーマから外れてしまうので、これ以上深入りはしない。それよりも、むしろこれらの書籍がいかに、新たに形成された東アジアの「交通」ネットワークに乗って日本に舶載され、日本知識人を「啓蒙」し、日本の「開国」を促進したかというプロセスを少し追究してみたい。

幕末における漢訳洋書の日本伝来を考察する時、最初にぶつかるのは、一体これらの書物がどういうルートで、どれぐらいの種類と数量で舶来したかという問題である。これは、もし従来の唐人貿易による輸入であれば、たとえば『齎来書目』『書籍元帳』『落札帳』などの長崎会所の輸入業務に関わるリストがあり、ある意味では非常に簡単に調べられる。しかしペリー来航以降は、唐船以外のルートも生まれ、特に1858年の「安政開

国」によって一種の自由貿易体制に入ると、郵船を含むさまざまな種類の船が頻繁に日中間を往来するようになったため、とても従来の方法ではそれを特定することができない。ただ、あえてそのルートを分類すれば、列強の軍艦による舶載、日中の商人による輸入、それに来日宣教師の持ち込みの三つがまず考えられる。以下、それぞれのルートによる舶来の様子を簡単に見てみよう。

軍艦による舶載は早くもペリー艦隊そのものの来航に遡る。1854 年 1 月、二度目の来日の途中に立ち寄った琉球に、ペリー艦隊の誰かが、漢文雑誌『遐邇貫珍』を二冊持ち込み、現地の人に渡した。『遐邇貫珍』というのは、1853 年 9 月にメデュハーストが上海にいながら香港で発行した月刊誌で、その内容は、各号の前半は科学などの西洋文明を紹介する文章が中心で、後半は国内外のニュース記事が大部分を占めている。この二冊の『遐邇貫珍』を琉球に持ち込んだのが一体誰であるかというのは、むろん特定できない。しかし、この時ペリー艦隊に搭乗していたメンバーのうちで漢文が理解できた人は、通訳の衛三畏（ウイリアムズ）と羅森しかおらず、おそらくそのどちらかだろうということは推測できる。

ウィリアムズは、前述の通り、アメリカ公理会（美部会）所属の宣教師で、1833 年に来華、当時は広州でミッション系の印刷所を管理していた。羅森は香港在住の文人で、ウィリアムズに誘われてペリー艦隊に乗り込み、後に「神奈川条約」が結ばれる際に、漢文の通訳として大いに活躍した。いずれにせよ、この二冊の『遐邇貫珍』は、その後、琉球から薩摩藩に伝わり、さらに写本として全国の有力藩士の間で広く流布するようになった。たとえば、安政 5 年に当時の外国奉行であった岩瀬忠震も『遐邇貫珍』を所蔵していたし、またその前に勝海舟と吉田松蔭もそれぞれこの雑誌を閲読したと友人宛の書簡に記している[5]。むろん、この『遐邇貫珍』はあくまで一つの特殊な例で、一般的に軍艦による舶載はそのルートを突き止めることができない。調べる限りでは、その後、わずかに勝海舟の『開国起源』にそれらしき記録が残っている程度で、それ以外はほとんど知る由もない。

この事情は、ある意味で日中の商人による輸入の場合にもあてはまる。というのは、いわゆる自由貿易体制に入ってから、在来の長崎会所による舶来図書検閲機能がほとんど麻痺したため、今日、このルートを通して一体どのような書籍がどれぐらい舶来したかを調べようとしても、なかなか難しい。ただ、長崎では、1858 年頃から英米などの外国商社が次々に進出してくるにしたがって、その商社の使用人という形で多くの中国商人が新たに来日し、在来の官商・額商と競いながら活発に合法・非合法の貿易活動を展開したという事実と[6]、当時の長崎にとって上海は最も重要な貿易相手であったということをあわせて考えれば、「もぐり唐人」と言われたこれらの中国商人によって需要の高い漢訳洋書が一部輸入されたとしてもまったく不思議ではない。たとえば、1858 年から翌年にかけて三宅艮斎という江戸在住の蘭方医が前述のホプソンの『西医略論』や『婦嬰新説』、『内科新説』を立て続けに翻刻するが、彼は、長崎ルートを通して上海から「密接に書籍薬品等」を購入していたと見られている。

上記の二つのルートに比べれば、来日宣教師の持ち込みは意外と簡単に確認できる。

5　増田渉『西学東漸と中国事情』岩波書店、1979 年。

6　山脇悌二郎『長崎の唐人貿易』吉川弘文館、1964 年。

それは、多くの場合、彼らは友人宛書簡や日記などにその記録を残しており、一部には図書の種類のみならず、その具体的な冊数まで記されているのである。たとえば、開国後、最初に上海から長崎にやってきたアメリカ聖公会所属の林約翰（リギンス）は、その友人宛の書簡で、ミュアーヘッドの『地理全志』『英国史』、ブリッジマンの『聯邦志略』、ウエイの『地球図説』、ホプソンの『西医略論』『博物新編』、ウイリアムソンの『植物学』などの「漢文書」を「日本上流社会の人士」に「千部以上売却」したと自慢している[7]。また、1859年に来日し、神奈川で伝道活動を展開していた長老会所属のヘボンも、その翌年の4月7日の友人宛書簡に、自分がすでにウエイの『地球図説』を「250冊ばかり」売ったと記し[8]、その本が日本人の間で非常に好評を博していることを伝えている。

漢訳洋書の流布とその影響

漢訳洋書の伝来ルートに関しては、おおよそ以上の通りであるが、しかしこれらのルートを確認した後、次の課題として、その舶来後の日本における流布の情況も見てみる必要があるだろう。なぜならば、これらの書籍が日本にどのような「衝撃」をもたらしたかという問題を考える場合、その流布情況は、むしろ伝来ルート以上に重要だと思われるからである。

幕末における漢訳洋書の流布については、その伝来ルートと同様、まだ解明されていないことが多々ある。したがって、ここではその流布情況の全容、とりわけ具体的な統計数字に関しては何も提示できない。ただ先ほどのリギンスやヘボンもそうだったように、個別にそれらの書籍の流布情況を記録する資料が一部残されており、それがわずかに、当時の状況の一端を窺わせてくれる。

たとえば、1863年に時の真宗大谷派嗣講師である香山院樋口龍温は、自らの講述「闢邪護法策」の中で、「爾ルニ両三年已来『万国綱鑑録』『地球略』『地理誌』『談天』ナドト云ヘル書オビタダシク密行スル。尚又官板トナリタルモノ不少。専ラ耶蘇教ヲ明シタルニ非ザレバ、禁制トナラネドモ其安心ガミナ耶蘇ナリ。其上『中外新報』抔ト云ヘルモノ僅一巻、海外ノ諸国ノ『風説書』ト云ヘルモノ、年ノ暦ノ如ク数百巻散シ売ニスル」と、漢訳洋書のおびただしい「密行」を指摘し、その事態を仏教徒の立場から憂慮している[9]。

また、1867年に同じ真宗大谷派嗣講師の富樫黙恵は「内外二憂録」という講述の中で、「当時両三年ノ間ニ著述シタル耶蘇教ノ書類、余眼睛ニ触レタルモノスラ、百部ニ向トス。如此邪教滔滔ト天下ニ流行スルコト、誰レカ悲マザランヤ。二百余年ノ厳禁モ、時勢トハ云ヒナガラ、スデニ廃弛スルコトハ、国家ノ危厄ココニアラン」と、開国直後の漢訳洋書の大量流入を振り返って、それが日本に「国家ノ危厄」までをももたらしたと真剣に悲しんでいるのである。

この他にも、たとえば1865年の時点で、いわゆる「邪教書類」の「渡来」が「総計

7 吉田寅『中国プロテスタント伝道史研究』汲古書院、1997年。
8 高谷道男編訳『ヘボン書簡集』岩波書店、1959年。
9 常盤大定編『明治仏教全集第八巻護法篇』春陽堂、1935年。

九十六事」という数字も指摘されている[10]。しかしこれは宗教書も含むもので、決して全部が全部、われわれが問題にしている漢訳洋書とは限らない。それから、一時開成所頭取まで務めた柳河春三が自らの漢文著作『横浜繁盛記』で幕末の「舶来書籍」として挙げた、23 点という統計もあるが、これは非常に不完全なもので、逆の意味において同様にそのまま鵜呑みにすることができない。いずれにせよ、現在把握している資料に限って見ても、個別のものを除いて、およそ上海などで刊行された漢訳洋書の八割以上があるいは写本、あるいは翻刻という形で日本の各地で広範囲に流布していたことはほぼ間違いなく、その浸透の度合いは中国の内地などよりもずっと高かったのである。

この日本における漢訳洋書の高い「普及率」を見るために、実はもう一つ、各地の学校におけるこれらの書籍の利用状況を参考として挙げることができる。ちなみに明治初頭において『地理全志』をはじめ、『地球説略』『英国史』『聯邦志略』などの翻刻版は、多くの藩校、たとえば金沢・福井・出石・田辺・神戸・淀・延岡・武雄・伊勢度会などの学校で「教科書」として使用されたと言われ[11]、中でも『地理全志』と理雅各（レヲグ）の『智環啓蒙』（香港英華書院、1856 年初版）が最も人気が高く、どちらも五つ以上の学校で採用されたようである。これは、いわゆる江戸の蘭学から明治の洋学への過渡期に起こった一時的な現象と見られるかもしれないが、しかしおよそこの過渡期にあたる 1850、60 年代においてこれらの書籍の果たした役割を決して侮ることはできず、極端に言えば、その存在がひとえに江戸蘭学と明治洋学との間の時間上の空白を埋めたのみならず、同時に両者の内質上の転換を可能にしたとさえ考えられる。それほどこの漢訳洋書のもたらした「衝撃」の射程は大きかったのである。

10 真宗東派擬講安休寺雲英晃曜「護法総論」（1869 年）、常盤大定編『明治仏教全集第八巻護法篇』（注 9 参照）。

11 開国百年記念文化事業会編『鎖国時代日本人の海外知識』乾元社、1953 年。

From "International" to "Global": Diplomatic Reflections on Modern Japan beyond a West European World

Frederick R. Dickinson

Audiences across the globe tuned in to their TVs on Friday, July 27, 2012 anticipating a dramatic spectacle. With the bar set high in Beijing in 2008, the pressure was on for host, London, and creator, celebrated British director Danny Boyle, to dazzle with the opening ceremony of the 30th Olympic Games. In numbers of viewers, the extravaganza was a rousing success—with an average audience of 22.3 million, the celebration joined the ranks of the twenty most watched television programs in British history.[1] The 40.7 American observers topped American ratings for the opening of the 1996 summer games in Atlanta.[2] And according to the International Olympic Committee's marketing director, just under 900 million people worldwide tuned in to London at some point on the 27th, very close to the billion some-odd viewers for Beijing.[3]

At a time when intellectual life is moving precipitously away from West-European-centric visions of the world, it is, perhaps, fitting, though deeply ironic, that Britain's masters of entertainment accentuated to the world the long-term mainstream vision of modern world history originally hatched in their own back yard. Boyle and his producers offered a triumphal vision of smokestacks rising from idyllic greens, yielding to a pluralistic society of naturalized immigrants, women's rights and internationalism (in the forging of the five golden rings of the Olympics).[4] Presented for the benefit of 900 million prime time viewers worldwide was, in other words, a captivating reiteration of the orthodox history of political and industrial revolution.

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1 Daniel Farey-Jones. "London 2012 Opening Ceremony Peaks at 26.9m Viewers." *Brand Republic News*, August 6, 2012.

2 Associated Press. "London 2012 Opening Ceremony Audience Hit 900 Million Predicts IOC." *The Independent*, August 7, 2012.

3 Ibid.

4 For a brief but useful description, see "Left-Right London." *The Friday Times*, August 10, 2012.

Toward a "Global History" of Japan

This vignette accentuates the degree to which the long-term mainstream narrative of the modern world remains alive and well, even in the realm of popular culture. But we live in a global world. Intellectual life in the twenty-first century should no longer be defined by the national narrative of one or two West European states. In pondering the future of intellectual life and, more specifically, of Japanese studies, one wonders about the persistent West European-centrism of current scholarship. Copenhagen is a fitting venue for such speculation. For Nordic scholars have struggled like others outside of Britain and France to deal with the West European-centrism of the last hundred and fifty years.

Historians have, for some time now, debated how best to transform our discipline for the twenty-first century.[5] And diplomatic historians have grappled even longer with the question of how to make our discipline relevant for a new age. Diplomatic history, after all, traditionally pays close attention to States and Great Men, which have, for some time now, been considered passé. Over the last two decades, however, diplomatic historians have transformed their discipline. Labeled "international history," the field now focuses less on States than on transnational processes; less on Great Men than on the activities of a variety of citizens, public and private in an assortment of issues of national and transnational, significance—war, rebellion, migration, famine, health, etc.[6]

This paper suggests ways in which the new international history may help us rethink Japanese studies for the twenty-first century. In particular, we may learn much from the efforts of international historians to think beyond the State. The point is not to abandon our interest in Japan. It is, rather, to try as much as possible to view developments within Japan as related to larger global processes. It is to replace the image of a unique Japan for one that helps highlight the complexities of the world in which we live.

Our dependence on West European paradigms has long sustained a vision of Japanese "uniqueness." The following analysis attempts to demonstrate how overcoming this West-European-centrism may help change the way we view a particular era of Japanese history, the interwar period. The focus lies less on trans-border phenomena themselves than upon developments within Japan that echo larger global processes. This is less a transnational history than a global one, one that highlights the importance of individual states even as it confirms important synergies across national borders.

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[5] See, in particular, Akira Iriye. "The Internationalization of History." *American Historical Review* 94:1 (February 1989), pp. 1–10.

[6] For a brief but useful explication of the "new international history," see Akira Iriye. "Transnational History." *Contemporary European History* 13:2 (May 2004), pp. 211–22.

Interwar Japan through a West European Lens

The interwar years are a critical era of transition, intimately tied to the greatest disaster of the twentieth century. Although an age of peace, the close connection between these years and the Second World War makes them particularly vulnerable to distortions of historical memory. Great calamities such as war, indeed, have a powerful affect upon how history is written. It is the Second World War, for example, that has ensured the continued longevity of West European-centrism to the present. Britain and the United States, after all, triumphed, and obtained with military victory the right to determine how we view modern history.

From the perspective of Britain and the United States, World War II was a battle between liberal internationalism and fascism/totalitarianism. There is, of course, much debate about the degree to which the principal enemies of the U.S. and Britain—Germany and Japan—were actually "fascist" or "totalitarian."[7] At the very least, however, given the persistence of the victors' paradigm of "liberalism vs. fascism," the orthodox narrative of the twentieth century continues to view both early twentieth century Germany and Japan as aberrant polities, whose "detour" from liberal, democratic norms was the principal cause of the Second World War.

Historians of modern Japan have long noted important political changes in Japan following the First World War—bourgeois party rule, a vibrant national labor movement, women and minority rights, proletarian parties, etc.[8] But these glimpses of political liberalization have invariably been accompanied by tales of structural weaknesses in Japanese democracy.[9] This tale of failure derives from the idea that Japan did not follow a "proper" pattern of political and economic development as established particularly in Britain: 1) Japan did not experience economic and political revolution until the late nineteenth century; 2) these revolutions proceeded from above, not as grass-roots political movements, and; 3) as a consequence, inordinate power devolved to the monarchy and its military-bureaucratic allies. Reforms of the 1920s, according to this scenario, rested upon flimsy foundations and were destined to founder—and lead to war.

The difficulty with this narrative is two-fold. First, it allows for little historical contingency, characterizing war as the inevitable consequence of a "peculiar" path to modernity. Second, it rests upon the notion that political and economic revolution as followed in varying degrees by Britain, France and the United States constitutes a "standard" development model.

If we broaden our vision just slightly, however, we understand that the exception lies not with the Japanese experience, but with the rarified model presented at the opening ceremony of

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[7] For a useful recent summary of the debate on Japanese fascism, see Janis Mimura. *Planning for Empire: Reform Bureaucrats and the Japanese Wartime State*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2011, pp. 4–5.

[8] See the classic study of the interwar years, Bernard S. Silberman and H.D. Harootunian, eds. *Japan in Crisis: Essays on Taishō Democracy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1974.

[9] The latest iteration of this in English is the notion of Japanese "imperial democracy." According to Andrew Gordon, the juxtaposition of empire and democracy in Japan marked an inherent contradiction and, eventually, "Japanese leaders chose emperor and empire over democracy." Andrew Gordon. *A Modern History of Japan*, 2nd edition. New York: Oxford University Press, 2009, p. 180.

the London Olympics. Yes, political revolution visited Britain, France and the United States as early as the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. But such dramatic transformation occurred much later in most of the rest of the world. More importantly, despite revolutionary progress at such an early date, political change remained an ongoing process everywhere. Japan underwent her own revolution in the latter nineteenth century at the very moment that dramatic change again swept Europe. The mass uprisings of 1848 carried the lessons of the French Revolution one step further, compelling even "mature" Western liberal states to tinker with a new type of state concept—the "nation-state," to deal with the widespread disruptions of the industrial revolution.[10] In this context, change in all states, including Japan, contributed to the general political advance of the world. American Secretary of State James G. Blaine described Japan's constitution of 1890 as an improvement over European and American models and, thus, a "step forward in constitutional law."[11]

As for economic change, what we know as the "industrial revolution"—the transformation of agriculture, manufacturing, mining, transportation and technology between 1750 and 1850—is very much a British phenomenon. Much of the rest of the world, including Japan, underwent similar changes—and more—during what is commonly identified as the "Second Industrial Revolution" after 1850. Indeed, the United States, like Japan, remained an agricultural country throughout the nineteenth century. Charles Dickens visited the U.S. in the 1840s and complained of grunting pigs on the streets of Manhattan.[12] As late as 1916, a State Department report judged road conditions in the U.S. as "far worse than any other major nation except Russia and China."[13]

Nor did the peculiar brand of private entrepreneurship and free trade, described by Adam Smith in 1776 as "laissez-faire," gain any global traction until after the Second World War. In the 1880s, the American institution of higher education, the University of Pennsylvania, required that economics professors not subscribe to the theory of free trade.[14] Indeed, one of the founders of modern Japan, Itō Hirobumi accentuated mainstream mercantilist views at this time when he decried the irresponsibility of free trade doctrines espoused in Britain and argued that "Japan should follow the example of the United States and establish a protective tariff to ensure the prosperity of domestic manufactures."[15]

The opening of the London Olympics made surprisingly little reference to an aspect of nineteenth century British life just as important as economic and political progress—empire. But specialists of world history know that the latter nineteenth century was an age of empires,

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[10] See Robert B. Marks. *The Origins of the Modern World*, 2nd edition. Maryland: Rowman and Littlefield, 2007, p. 140.

[11] Kokaze Hidemasa. "The Political Space of Meiji 22 (1889): The Promulgation of the Constitution and the Birth of the Nation." *Japan Review* 23 (2011), p. 11.

[12] Leo Damrosch. *Tocqueville's Discovery of America*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2011, p. 55.

[13] Earl Swift. *The Big Roads: The Untold Story of the Engineers, Visionaries, and Trailblazers Who Created the American Superhighways*. New York: Houghton Mifflin, 2011, p. 48.

[14] James Fallows. "How the World Works." *The Atlantic Monthly* 272:6 (December 1993), p. 82.

[15] Kenneth Pyle. *The Making of Modern Japan*, 2nd edition. New York: Wadsworth, 1995, p. 100.

when any power with a claim to membership in world "civilization" had to demonstrate its worthiness by force of arms and acquisition of territories. Japan's crash investment in arms and empire in the latter nineteenth century is significant not for its demonstration of Japanese "militarism" and extraordinary appetite for conquest but for revealing the prevailing standards of late nineteenth century national life. Indeed, Foreign Minister Inoue Kaoru famously described Japan's principal foreign policy goal in 1887 as the attempt "to establish a new, European-style empire on the edge of Asia."[16]

World War I Watershed

How might abandoning our ideas of Japanese exceptionalism change the way we view interwar Japanese state and society?[17] If focused on structural weakness, the tale of interwar Japan becomes a story of a slippery slope to war. Without the obsessive concern for conflicts with a West European model, however, Japan in the 1920s becomes less a glimpse of causes of the Manchurian Incident than the departure point for a much larger discussion of the character of twentieth century life. It becomes, in particular, a tale of the enormous global impact of the First World War.

Historians have long debated the degree to which the Great War constituted a watershed in world history. Recent scholarship on Europe has downplayed the notion of a conspicuous departure. Champions of a "long nineteenth century" stress the dramatic effect of prolonged transformation for over a century preceding the war.[18] Specialists of memory have noted the persistence of traditional motifs across the 1918 divide.[19] General studies of the twentieth century continue to suggest the inseparability of World War I and II—a "Second Thirty Years War."[20] Japan specialists have, likewise, long given short shrift to the 1914–19 years. If the modern Japanese polity is considered structurally unsound,[21] then the First World War serves little but to confirm adverse trends begun decades before the twentieth century.

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[16] Quoted in Marius B. Jansen. "Modernization and Foreign Policy in Meiji Japan." In Robert E. Ward, ed. *Political Development in Modern Japan*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1968, p. 175.

[17] For a more sustained exposition, see Frederick R. Dickinson. *World War I and the Triumph of a New Japan, 1919–1930*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013.

[18] See C.A. Bayly. *The Birth of the Modern World, 1780–1914*. Massachusetts: Blackwell, 2004.

[19] See Jay Winter. *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Cultural History*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995; and Thomas W. Laquer. "Names, Bodies and the Anxiety of Erasure." In Theodore R. Schatzki and Wolfgang Natter, eds. *The Social and Political Body*. New York: Guilford Press, 1996, pp. 123–44.

[20] See Anthony Shaw and Ian Westwell, eds. *The World in Conflict, 1914–1945*. London: Routledge, 2000. This perspective has a long history. See also P.M.H. Bell. *The Origins of the Second World in Europe*. London: Pearson, 1986; Michael Howard. "A Thirty Year's War? The Two World Wars in Historical Perspective." *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 6:3 (1993), pp. 171–84; and Eric Hobsbawm. *The Age of Extremes: A History of the World, 1914–1991*. New York: Vintage, 1994, which identifies the First through Second World Wars in Part I as an "age of catastrophe."

[21] For the classic presentation of this argument, see Rekishigaku Kenkyūkai, ed. *Kindai Nihon no keisei* (Formation of Modern Japan). Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1953. For a related argument in English, see John W. Dower, ed. *Origins of the Modern Japanese State: Selected Writings of E.H. Norman*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1975.

Viewed from the perspective of Japanese contemporaries, however, the war marked a pivotal departure. Japan declared war in August 1914 and played a critical supporting role for the Entente. It ejected German forces from Qingdao, China and German Micronesia, protected convoys of Australian and New Zealand troops from the Pacific to Aden, hunted German submarines in the Mediterranean, and provided desperately needed shipping, copper, munitions and ¥640 million in loans to its allies.[22]

Japan's war experience, of course, differed markedly from that of the main belligerents. Casualties numbered only slightly more than 2,000,[23] and far from smarting, the Japanese economy boomed. As in Europe, few Japanese subjects in 1914 could fully anticipate the consequences of general hostilities in 1914. But many shared a sense of the monumental importance of European events. As Seiyūkai President Hara Takashi declared on August 4, 1914, the turmoil marked "an unexpectedly large disturbance that threatens to become the largest war since Napoleon I."[24]

The primary import of the "European War" for Japan, however, had less to do with the scale of the conflict than with something more fundamental. As Tokyo Mayor Sakatani Yoshirō observed, the present global standard was the product of 400 years of European and American culture. A general European conflict meant war "in the heart of world civilization, in the heart of world finance, in the heart of world transportation." It was like succumbing to illness in the most precious organs of the heart and lungs.[25]

Long before the full physical effects of the Great War became apparent, in other words, observers in Japan, as well as in Europe, anticipated the most fundamental consequences of a general European conflagration: an epic transformation of international politics and culture. At the very least, such a conflict would mark the end of European centrality in modern civilization. Given the overwhelming importance of European models in the construction of the modern world, a general war threatened profound repercussions across the globe, including

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[22] Major K.F. Baldwin, Office of the Chief of Staff, War Department, Military Intelligence Division. "A Brief Account of Japan's Part in the World War" (September 16, 1921), p. 6. Stanley K. Hornbeck papers, Box 255, "War Costs and Contributions" file, The Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace.

[23] According to contemporary American sources, the Imperial Japanese Army suffered 414 dead, 1,441 wounded in the siege of Qingdao. Navy losses numbered 317 killed and 76 wounded. Army figures from Major K.F. Baldwin, Office of the Chief of Staff, War Department, Military intelligence Division, "Memorandum for Colonel Graham," September 16, 1921. Navy figures from U.S. Secretary of the Navy Edwin Denby letter to Secretary of State, September 23, 1921. Both documents in Stanley K. Hornbeck Papers, Box 255, "Japan: War Costs and Contributions" File, Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace. Contemporary public sources in Japan pronounced Japanese casualties at Qingdao at 550 dead and 1,500 wounded and made note of 1,500 casualties in Siberia. "Sekai sensō no kessan" (Accounting of the World War). *Tōkyō asahi shinbun*, December 28, 1919; reprinted in Nakajima Kenzō, comp. *Shinbun shūroku Taishōshi*. 15 vols. Tokyo: Taishō Shuppan, 1978, vol. 7, p. 449.

[24] Hara Keiichirō, ed. *Hara Takashi nikki* (Diary of Hara Takashi). 6 vols. Tokyo: Fukumura Shuppan, 1981, vol. 4, pp. 25–26 (diary entry for August 4, 1914). For an in-depth look at Japanese reactions to the outbreak of war in Europe, see Frederick R. Dickinson. "The View from Japan: War and Peace in Europe around 1914." In Holger Afflerbach and David Stevenson, eds. *An Improbable War?* New York: Berghahn Books, 2007, pp. 303–319.

[25] Sakatani Yoshirō. "Ōshū sensō to sono keizai kankei" (Economic Aspects of the European War). *Taiyō* 20:11 (September 1, 1914), p. 135.

in Japan. It is no wonder that the British editor of the English-language daily, *Japan Chronicle*, observed that "by the end of July 1914 developments on the other side of the world, perhaps for the first time in Japan's history, eclipsed more local interests."[26]

Age of Reconstruction

In the historiography of modern Europe, the most tangible confirmation of the impact of World War I comes in coverage of the monumental effort at reconstruction following wartime devastation.[27] But the impulse to rebuild was not confined to territories physically leveled by artillery.[28] If the Great War marked the rise of a new definition of civilization, the necessity to retool naturally reached well beyond areas of physical destruction.

At the very moment that European statesmen began devoting massive resources to physical reconstruction, policy-makers in Tokyo began repositioning Japan in the vastly altered circumstances of the postwar world. Returning from an eight-month Euro-American tour in 1919, former Foreign Minister Gotō Shinpei called for a cabinet-level research institution like the then ubiquitous European ministries of reconstruction.[29] The Hara cabinet (1918–21) did not ultimately create the Japanese equivalent of a European ministry of reconstruction. But it did begin a decade of reform that mirrored many of the rebuilding efforts in Europe. As Prime Minister Katō Takaaki declared in May 1925, "The Japanese people…must come together in a grand resolution and effort to build the foundations for a New Japan."[30]

Japan specialists have long identified the nineteenth century as a striking era of nation building, whereby Japan became the first non-Western realm to transform from a feudal society into a modern state and economic "powerhouse."[31] The extraordinary scope of Japan's reconstruction after 1918 may be gleaned from the way Japanese contemporaries understood it to be equivalent to the earlier nation-building project. Many Japanese subjects, in fact, made explicit parallels with the Meiji Restoration. As Hara Takashi remarked in June 1917, "for

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[26] A. Morgan Young. *Japan under Taisho Tenno 1912–1926*. London: George Allen & Unwin, 1928, p. 70.

[27] Reflecting the relative severity of economic dislocations over physical destruction, most scholarship on postwar reconstruction in Europe focuses on economic issues, such as currency stabilization, reparations, restoration of trade and transportation networks, excess capacity, etc. For a useful synopsis of these issues, see Derek Aldcroft. *The European Economy 1914–2000*. New York: Routledge, 2001, chps. 1–3.

[28] Analyses of cultural reconstruction have increasingly highlighted the critical enterprise of rebuilding beyond Europe. They remain, however, generally focused upon societies with a strong physical participation in the war. Ana Carden-Coyne, *Reconstructing the Body: Classicism, Modernism, and the First World War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), for example, details the physical and cultural reconstruction of bodies in Europe, the United States and Australia.

[29] Reflecting the new imperial reign of Taishō, Gotō proposed an institution called the State Committee for Taishō Renovation. "Gotō Fumio shi danwa dai ikkai sokkiroku" (First Record of Gotō Fumio's Reflections). In Naiseishi Kenkyūkai, ed. *Naiseishi kenkyū shiryō* 4 (July 11, 1963), pp. 51–53. Cambridge, MA: Harvard-Yenching Library.

[30] Katō Takaaki. "Meika no sakebi" (Celebrity Appeal). *King* 1:5 (May 1925), p. 1.

[31] See Gordon 2009, p. 93.

the first time in fifty years since the renovation (*ishin*), it is time for national renewal (*kokka sasshin*)."[32]

In echoing their mid-nineteenth century predecessors' zeal for reform, Japanese policy-makers and opinion-leaders after the First World War pursued a strikingly similar strategy. Just as modern Japan's founders began their epic transformation by condemning "evil customs" of the past,[33] the campaign to construct a New Japan in the 1920s stood upon a vociferous denunciation of recent history.[34] Tokyo University political scientist Yoshino Sakuzō declared in 1919 that peace had arrived, "with the general awakening of public sentiment from the old aggressive militarism."[35]

Like its nineteenth century predecessor, the interwar vision of passing darkness was accompanied by clamorous appeals for a new opening to the world. Tokyo University religious scholar Anesaki Masaharu urged his countrymen to abandon "the tendency toward a closed country (*sakokuteki keikō*)" exemplified by weapons, self-sufficiency and economic autonomy and awaken to "the grand spirit of promoting an open country (*kaikoku*)" following world trends.[36]

Historians who have noted the impact of the Great War in Japan have stressed the defensive nature of a Japanese response.[37] But if, like its nineteenth century predecessor, reconstruction in the 1920s began with a thunderous denunciation of the past and clamorous appeals for a new "opening," it was, most importantly, sustained by a buoyantly hopeful vision for the future. According to the Dawn Society, formed by Yoshino Sakuzō and like-minded intellectuals in 1918, the Great War had been a "war for liberalism, progressivism and democracy (*minponshugi*) against autocracy, conservatism and militarism. With this shining victory and peace, the peoples of the world have hope, for the first time, for a truly civilized way of life."[38]

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[32] Hara 1981, vol. 4, p. 291 (Diary entry of June 2, 1917).

[33] This was the terminology of the 1868 Charter Oath. Translation in Wm. Theodore de Bary, ed. *Sources of Japanese Tradition*. 2 vols. New York: Columbia University Press, 1964, vol. 2, p. 137.

[34] In some cases, the architects of a New Japan borrowed wholesale the language of the Meiji Renovation. As the Ministry of Education urged in 1922, the Japanese should "sweep away the evil customs" of the past. Quoted in Sheldon Garon. "Rethinking Modernization and Modernity in Japanese History: A Focus on State-Society Relations." *Journal of Asian Studies* 53:2 (May 1994), p. 356.

[35] Yoshino Sakuzō. "Teikokushugi yori kokusai minshushugi e" (From Imperialism to International Democracy). *Rokugō zasshi*, June/July 1919; reprinted in Ōta Masao, ed. *Shiryō Taishō demokurashī ronsōshū*. 2 vols. Tokyo: Shinsensha, 1971, vol. 1, pp. 199–200.

[36] Anesaki Masaharu. "Taisen no ketchaku to sengo no shin kyokumen" (Settlement of the Great War and the New Postwar Era); Quoted in Seki Shizuo. *Taishō gaikō* (Taishō Diplomacy). Kyoto: Minerva Shobō, 2001, p. 97.

[37] Japanese generals, we are told, struggled to establish a new scale of preparedness befitting an age of total war. Policy-makers and pundits brooded over how to confront the likely escalation of international economic competition in an era of peace. And following the rejection at the Paris Peace Conference of Japan's proposed "racial equality" clause in the covenant of the League of Nations, "race became a factor of heightened concern" for Japanese diplomats. See Michael Barnhart. *Japan Prepares for Total War: The Search for Economic Security, 1919–1941*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1987; Suetake Yoshiya. *Taishōki no seiji kōzō* (Political Structure in the Taishō Era). Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1998; and Hasegawa Yūichi, ed. *Taishōki Nihon no Amerika ninshiki* (Japanese Perceptions of America in the Taishō Era). Tokyo: Keiō Gijuku Daigaku Shuppankai, 2001, p. 1, respectively.

[38] In a declaration of December 4, 1918. Quoted in Itō Takashi. *Taishōki kakushinha no seiritsu* (Formation of Reformist Groups in the Taishō Era). Tokyo: Hanawa Shobō, 1978, p. 67.

Japan specialists typically locate the essential spirit of Meiji reform in an 1868 proclamation of the emperor known as the Charter Oath. Likewise, the zeal for change following the Great War was embodied in the Imperial Rescript on the Establishment of Peace of January 1920:[39]

> "The course of events has completely changed and remains in the process of transformation. It is time to follow a path of great effort and flexibility. You subjects should pursue this deeply and officials of the land should faithfully follow this by attempting to realize, in accordance with the international situation, a League of Nations peace."

Age of Peace

Treatments of the global cultural impact of the Great War generally highlight the emotional trauma of wartime destruction.[40] Studies of the cultural flowering of the 1920s across the globe, by contrast, often speak of a "jazz age" with little direct connection to the war.[41] Spared the emotional trauma of World War I, Japan accentuates the degree to which the principal cultural departure of World War I lay not in a culture of loss but in a new, farther reaching, ethos of peace.

Japan specialists have generally highlighted the interwar years as an era of leisure.[42] But just as historians of the nineteenth century have spoken of a culture of Western fads, fashions and gadgets that accompanied Japan's dramatic nineteenth century transformation,[43] one might view interwar Japan as something more than a random assortment of reforms or cult of pleasure. Just as the founders of modern Japan were inspired by Commodore Perry and his European counterparts to systematically chase symbols of Western "civilization and enlightenment," architects of the New Japan responded to the ruin of World War I with a concerted effort to embrace a new culture of peace. As elder statesman Saionji Kinmochi declared in September 1919, it was time for Japan to invest wholeheartedly in the arts, industry and commerce, to become an active contributor to the new global "peace project" (*heiwateki jigyō*).[44]

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[39] "Heiwa kokufuku no Taishō happu" (Taishō Promulgation on the Establishment of Peace). *Ōsaka asahi shinbun*, January 14, 1920; reprinted in Nakajima 1978, vol. 8, p. 24.

[40] See Paul Fussell. *The Great War and Modern Memory*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1975 and Winter 1995.

[41] See Mitchell Newton-Matza. ed. *Jazz Age: People and Perspectives*. Santa Barbara: ABC Clio, 2009 and Joshua Zeitz. *Flapper: A Madcap Story of Sex, Style, Celebrity, and the Women Who Made America Modern*. New York: Broadway, 2007.

[42] See Miriam Silverberg. *Erotic Grotesque Nonsense: The Mass Culture of Japanese Modern Times*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007.

[43] The passion for such culture was embodied in the official slogan, "Civilization and Englightenment" (*bunmei kaika*).

[44] Ritsumeikan Daigaku Saionji Kinmochi den Hensan Iinkai, ed. *Saionji Kinmochi den* (Biography of Saionji Kinmochi). 6 vols. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1993, vol. III, p. 323.

Historians typically describe Crown Prince Hirohito's six-month sojourn in Europe in 1921 as part of a new Japanese opening to the world. But the voyage, more specifically, marked the most powerful expression of a new official sponsorship of peace. At every stop along the tour, Hirohito made reference to the most fundamental principal of civilization after the war. At the threshold of Europe, Malta, he acknowledged the tragic losses of war by visiting the graves of 77 Japanese sailors who had died hunting German U-boats in the Mediterranean.[45] In Edinburgh, he told the boy scouts that he hoped Japan would organize a similar group to help maintain "world peace."[46] As he readied to depart France, he named visits to Reims and other World War I battlefields as having left the deepest impression. "How do those who glorify war," he demanded, "view places such as these?"[47] As one official perceptively observed upon the prince's return to Tokyo, the royal had expressed a keen desire for world peace during his tour and had "made no mention of (the Meiji slogan) rich country, strong army."[48]

The preeminent symbol of interwar culture, the Japanese flapper, or "modern girl" (moga), was much more than a "militant" defying accepted class, gender and cultural norms.[49] Like the latter nineteenth-century image of samurai shedding their top-knot for a Western-style "close-cropped head" (*zangiri atama*), she represented a complete transformation of national culture. The natural instinct of women, after all, as the Japanese Christian Women's Reform Society's Moriya Azuma explained in 1923, was to preserve peace.[50]

Conclusion

History as a modern discipline arose in tandem with the rise of the modern nation state. In the latter nineteenth century, as states grappled with rapid industrial growth and social transformation, the invention of a compelling narrative of change became an indispensible tool for national cohesion.[51] As the twentieth century thrust these nation-states into a series of ruinous wars, it is understandable that the historical narrative of a handful of victor nations came to dominate and become the standard by which all other states came to be judged. In

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45 Hatano Sumio et al. eds. *Jijū bukanchō Nara Takeji nikki kaisōroku* (Memoir of Chief Aide de Camp Nara Takeji). 4 vols. Tokyo: Kashiwa Shobō, 2000, vol. 1, pp. 105–106 (diary entry of April 25, 1921).

46 "Naporeon shiyō no tsukue nite goshomei" (Signing on a Desk Used by Napoleon). *Tōkyō asahi shinbun*, May 23, 1921; reprinted in Nakajima 1978, vol. 9, p. 195.

47 "Haru no miya iyoiyo Itarī e" (Crown Prince Finally to Italy). *Tōkyō nichinichi shinbun*, July 9, 1921; reprinted in Nakajima 1978, vol. 10, p. 239.

48 "Rikugun no yarikuchi ni hinan takai" (Loud Criticism of Army Methods). *Yomiuri shinbun*, September 6, 1921; reprinted in Nakajima 1978, vol. 9, p. 306.

49 For this characterization, see Silverberg, "The Modern Girl as Militant." For a similar depiction of the "femme moderne" in interwar France, see Mary Louise Roberts. "Samson and Delilah Revisited: The Politics of Women's Fashion in 1920s France." *The American Historical Review* 98:3 (June 1993), pp. 657–84.

50 Moriya Azuma. "Kokusai heiwa to fujin" (International Peace and Women). *Kokusai chishiki* III:4 (April 1923), p. 80.

51 See Christopher L. Hill. *National History and the World of Nations: Capital, State, and the Rhetoric of History in Japan, France, and the United States*. Durham, SC: Duke University Press, 2008.

the twenty-first century, however, at a time when one or two states no longer clearly dominate world politics, economics and/or cultural life, history, and other intellectual disciplines such as Japanese studies, should be separated from the state. The point of Japanese studies in the twenty-first century should not be to stress the uniqueness of Japan. It should, rather, be to highlight ways in which events in Japan can inform us of the general human experience.

An analysis of interwar Japan should reveal more than just the sources of Japan's subsequent road to war. It should, rather, provide clues, more generally, to early twentieth century life. Developments in early twentieth century Japan, in fact, highlight the enormous global significant of the Great War. Despite their country's immense distance from the Western Front, Japanese contemporaries understood as quickly as any European statesmen the most likely outcome of the destruction of Europe: a fundamental interrogation of established notions of "civilization." Having earlier wholeheartedly appropriated the principal standards of civilization as established in Europe, Japanese statesmen, like their European and American counterparts, embarked upon a monumental enterprise in national reconstruction after 1919. And Japan's active participation in the global reconstruction project after the Paris Peace Conference guaranteed its pivotal place in the new post-Versailles global culture of peace. It was precisely because of this active Japanese participation in a global culture of peace that the Manchurian Incident was such a shocking blow to early twentieth century life.

Once we abandon the West-European-centric vision of interwar Japan, in other words, we lose the slightly titillating notion of a "deficient" Japan. In its place, we obtain the exciting image of a Japan intimately involved in major trends in early twentieth century global life. At this time in the twenty-first century, when Japan's star is fading across the world stage, it is imperative that we jettison the lack-luster image of a "unique" Japan and accentuate to our friends across the globe the degree to which developments in Japan have had and continue to have critical affects and resonances across the globe.

Speeches at the Symposium

Mini-keynote for Session 1

Japanese Religion: A Terminal Patient?

Mark Teeuwen

Thank you—to Nichibunken for choosing the Nordic countries as the venue for this year's conference, to the presenters for sharing your research with us, and to the audience for showing an interest and hopefully posing stimulating questions.

We can look forward to a broad array of topics over the course of this day, ranging from aspects of medieval to modern, hard-core Buddhism to reflections of sacredness or spirituality in cultural forms that appear a lot less specific and defined. As the moderator of this session, I have tried to arrange the papers in groups that, at first sight, seemed in some way related. I hope there will be something of particular interest to each of you; I know for a fact that there will be something in the category of *hatsumimi* for all. It follows from the nature of this conference that we shall be witnessing the variety and scope of research into Japanese religion within the Nordic countries—I trust that the lack of coherence will not prevent you from enjoying the variety of this day's programme.

I have been given fifteen minutes for a so-called "mini-keynote." Key-note is a term from music—apparently it means "the lowest tone or note of a scale," with which everything else in a piece must be "in key." But today's papers are composed in many different keys, leaving me with an impossible task. I will therefore concentrate on keeping my keynote both low and mini.

Just months ago, the study of Japanese Religion has been enriched with a new journal: the *Journal of Religion in Japan*. The title of this Brill-initiated journal signals the ambition to make research on religion in Japan relevant to the field of religious studies as a whole. Japanese religion has, I think, been a rather rich field of study; yet its impact on theories of religion has been quite limited compared not only to the study of Western religions, but, arguably, also of other Asian traditions. This journal could offer a good opportunity to do something about this.

The first, "key-note" article of this new journal is a rallying call in exactly this direction. It is authored by one of the defining figures in the field, and one of few Japan specialists to have spread his wings beyond the Area studies arena: Ian Reader.[1] With his typical flair, he inaugurates the journal by declaring: "Religion may not yet be dead in Japan but it is dying."[2] His explanation for this radical development is just as provocative: Reader argues that the secularization theory should be resurrected in its classical guise, and posits that the radical decline of religion in Japan is due to urbanization and the spread of higher education.

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[1] Ian Reader. "Secularisation, R.I.P.? Nonsense! The 'Rush Hour Away from the Gods' and the Decline of Religion in Contemporary Japan." *Journal of Religion in Japan* 1:1 (2012), pp. 7–36.

[2] Reader 2012, p. 34.

I would be very interested to hear what you all think of this thesis. In studying "religion in Japan," are we studying a terminal patient? Does the incumbent fate of Japanese religion prove that modernity-induced secularization "remains a potent force," as Ian Reader puts it, and even, perhaps, that the same fate awaits religion in other modern societies across the globe?

When put like this, Ian Reader's argument surely sounds overly naïve. The case of Japan does not prove that "religion" is bound to face total extinction any time soon—if only because other modern and modernizing nations provide convincing counter-evidence (such as the U.S., or countries in the Middle East and South Asia). And I won't even start on a discussion of the theoretical and practical problems in pinpointing what "religion" and, even worse, "secularity" may mean in different contexts—other than to say that it is a long way from medieval Christendom, which pioneered this conceptual pair, to early modern and modern Japan.

Still, I think Reader has a point. He argues that critics of secularization theory have often used Japan as an example of a modern society where religion has *not* been threatened by modern secularity, and he sets out to prove that this image of a religiously vibrant Japan has no roots in actual reality by quoting a variety of statistics. He admits that in his earlier writings, he has been among those who have broadcasted an image of Japan as an exciting religious laboratory, and in his usual open-minded manner, he sets out to correct what he now sees as a mistaken perception. He is sceptical of both the so-called "religious boom" of the 1970s and the "spirituality boom" trumpeted by the media in the 2000s. Instead, he sees a steady decline in the fortunes of temples in particular, but also stagnation in the activities of New Religions, and, most significantly, a decline in levels of self-declared "faith" (*shinkō*) and an increasingly negative perception of "religion" in public discourse. I would have framed the argument differently, but I do agree with Reader that "religion" in Japan is negatively affected by increasing scepticism and is struggling to attract the custom on which religious institutions depend for their survival.

As long as I can remember, Japan has been portrayed both as strikingly secular on the one hand, and, at the same time, as overflowing with temples, shrines and churches of all kinds. Already in the 1970s, Jan Swyngedouw of Nanzan University described the question whether "Japan should be called a secular or religious society" as "classic."[3] The same decade saw a lively discussion on the effects of secularization on religious institutions in Japan; few were optimistic on their behalf.

Yet, looking back on my own experience of developments in northern Europe, I would say that religious institutions in Japan have proved remarkably robust in the face of change. In my city of birth, Eindhoven in the Catholic south of the Netherlands, there were fifty-seven churches when I was young; now there are only two left. In Japan, the number of temples has decreased by some 20 or 25 percent since 1970; shrines and churches may even have increased in number. Rural shrines are threatened by depopulation rather than secularization; most

[3] Jan Swyngedouw. "Secularization in a Japanese Context." *JJRS* 3/4 (December 1976), p. 283.

urban shrines appear to be doing quite well, and my impression is that shrine priests have more confidence in the future than do temple priests. From a northern European perspective, we should perhaps ask not why "religion is dying," but rather why so many Japanese religious institutions have managed to survive in what appears to be an environment that is increasingly hostile to "religion," and why some institutions fare worse than others.

Central to the conundrum of religion in Japan has been the question of religious identity. Astounding numbers of Japanese temples and shrines have subsisted for a remarkable length of time by offering services to people who do not identify themselves with the sect or even religion that those temples and shrines represent. This simple and much-discussed fact has profound implications for a discussion about secularity in Japan, or in the many Asian countries where religious institutions function in similar ways.

Charles Taylor has written a fascinating work on the emergence of secularity in his classic *A Secular Age*.[4] One central moment in this long saga was the movement, from the sixteenth century onwards, to "reform" the City of Man by applying the standards of the City of God to all aspects of society. This involved imposing the norms of religious life on lay people. Their interaction with the church was no longer limited to their depending on the mediation of professional priests at crucial moments in their lives; now, they had to take care to live Christian lives on a daily basis. Others have called the infusion of religious values and practices into all spheres of social life "fundamentalism," and argued that this originally European process spread across the world in the nineteenth century.[5] Ironically, "reform" of this kind produced both political forms of religious fundamentalism and secular thought—which retains the idea that the world can be improved towards perfection but does away with the primacy of God.

Many writers on Japanese religion have argued that in order to survive, Japanese religion has to follow a similar path, from lay-people's dependence on the services of religious professionals to the creation of religious identities based on the notion of what Taylor calls "Reform." Swyngedouw, for example, wrote that Japanese religions needed to "evolve in a direction based on the ethic of the universally human" and inspire "personal faith" in their followers on that basis.[6] In the immediate post-war, Orikuchi Shinobu argued the same for Shinto; so did numerous Buddhist leaders for their sects. The shrine organization Jinja Honchō has consistently resisted this path; many Buddhist sects did embrace it, but have had limited success in winning over their *danka*. In the end, most users of religious services in Japan show little interest in, or actively resist adopting a religious identity, or embarking on a programme of personal reform.

In some way or other, this must have profound repercussions for the way Japanese religious institutions are affected by secularization. Losing interest in using ritual services is a very

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4 Charles Taylor. *A Secular Age*. Harvard University Press, 2007.

5 Torkel Brekke. *Fundamentalism: Prophesy and Protest in an Age of Globalization*. Cambridge University Press, 2011.

6 Swyngedouw 1976, p. 303.

different thing from abandoning a religious identity. Choosing between a temple grave and a grave in a public cemetery may well involve questions of faith, but not necessarily. It makes sense to say that Norwegian parents choosing to baptise their child in a church are making a religious choice, and those who choose not to do so may perhaps be described as secular; but do the same terms apply in any meaningful way to *hatsu miyamairi* or *shichi-go-san*?

One of the main conclusions to arise from the debate on secularization is that, contrary to what Reader appears to be arguing, secularity comes in many shapes and forms. To my mind, the way Japan's temples and shrines function does not fit in very well with most of them. Perhaps their future depends not on a contest between religion and secularity, but rather on changes in the public demand for ritual performances, and priests' abilities to offer these in an attractive and effective manner. This may well explain why shrines, which are less associated with the problematic label of *shūkyō*, appear to be doing better than temples or the churches of New Religions. It may also explain why temples and shrines seem relatively unaffected by falling rates of self-declared faith, and why temples that offer only rites that suit traditional families are in most trouble of all.

Mini-keynote for Session 2

Talking of Cultural Relations between Europe and Japan

Yoichi Nagashima

This year, 2012, marks the 150th birth anniversary of Mori Ōgai. To commemorate this event, a new memorial library will be inaugurated in Tokyo in the forthcoming November, and an international symposium will be arranged by Mori Ōgai Society in Tokyo in this connection. Similar symposia were also held in Berlin by Humboldt University.

I mention Mori Ōgai not only because he was an incarnation of the cultural relations between Europe and Japan during Japan's rapid modernization but also because his life and authorship have been a source of inspiration and encouragement for me as a scholar. I have published articles and books on Mori Ōgai, as he was a translator not only of literature but also of culture.

About half of Mori Ōgai's literary production consists of translations of European literature, including Scandinavian, but his translation should rather be called a creative mistranslation or manipulation as he eagerly tried to recast the original work in order to make it readable and comprehensible in the Japanese context.

By examining Mori Ōgai's authorship, especially his works of translation, I have cultivated and developed my method of reading, which has led to a theory of mistranslation. Every translation is a result of interpretation and is always biased linguistically and culturally; we cannot translate otherwise. Moreover, interpretation cannot be avoided. As Wolfgang Iser says, "We interpret; therefore we are."[1]

We are constantly interpreting, translating, and, therefore, often misunderstanding. While such misunderstanding is only natural, we should be aware of it and try to attain better understanding.

I cannot remember exactly when, but I began to use this theory of mistranslation in my study of *The Cultural Relations between Denmark and Japan*. Before me, owing to the obvious language barrier, nobody could describe the historical process of the two countries' relations. I have now published Book 1, in Danish as well as in Japanese,[2] covering the period from 1600 to 1873; the second book covering the following period until 1903 is forthcoming.

Now, please allow me to give you a short introduction to my study:

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1 Wolfgang Iser. *The Range of Interpretation*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2000, p. 1.

2 Yoichi Nagashima. *De dansk-japanske kulturelle forbindelser 1600–1873* (The Cultural Relations between Denmark and Japan 1600–1873). Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum, University of Copenhagen, 2003. Nagashima Yōichi 長島要一. *Nihon Denmāku bunka kōryūshi 1600–1873* 日本・デンマーク文化交流史 1600–1873. Kanagawa: Tōkai Daigaku Shuppankai, 2007.

Analyses in Book 1 were mostly empirical, as the main purpose of the book was to map and present relevant documents in both Danish and Japanese. By closely reading them, I have precisely depicted how the Danes and the Japanese have accumulated their knowledge of each other through the ages in this book. I have regarded culture as a "text," and I have described how the Danes and the Japanese have "read," "interpreted," and "(mis)understood" each other's texts. Their reciprocal "readings" of each other's culture had to necessarily go through "translation," first of literature in foreign languages, and then literature in their own language, which inevitably was under the influence of both the first and second "translation." As every translation by definition is mistranslation, since no equivalence is possible and many variants can appear, the process gradually became complex and complicated. As a result, I have disclosed that cultural "(mis)translation" has a certain pattern of development.

When one observes or reads about foreign culture, one sees—as when one reads a book—only what one wants to see. As a reader, one's perspective is limited, and one should have the ability to see what is to be seen. However, when one has certain knowledge of the text, one observes or reads that text more purposefully or arbitrarily so that one sees only what one prefers to see. One begins to choose and cite the aspects of the text that one wants to read. The choice is not necessarily a conscious manipulation but often an unconscious act. During the next stage, when observing or reading the text, one sees what he or she is expected to see. The way to read the text is regulated by the reader's cultural background. In addition, the reading takes place in a collective setting, and there, a myth is formed about the text so that one no longer questions the common reception of the text.

The observation or reading of a foreign culture includes reflection, and when one describes it, one is inevitably confronted with one's own cultural background through the language to be used for that purpose. Thus, the foreign culture functions here as a mirror. By looking at it, one sees a mirror image of oneself, and if one is attentive, one can simultaneously look into one's own culture. An exact rendering of this reflection, however, cannot be realized in writing or by other means. When one sees oneself in a mirror, for example, the mirror image one sees differs from the reality. At this point, manipulation takes place, where the up-down relation is accurately reflected, while the right-left relation is always laterally reversed. The mirror image can never be identical to what one sees in the same way a translation cannot be faithful to the original. There can only be mistranslation. Hence, a translation is equivalent to an illusion.

These numerous mistranslations in cultural contexts, however, are intense human actions, and they constitute the very core of cultural contacts. Not only observation and experience of each other's culture but also imagination of what the foreign culture consists is required to build relations between the two cultures. These are mental or intellectual acts. To hear or read about a foreign culture is also an experience that can form the foundation for one's take on the foreign culture, and this influences one's relation to his or her own culture, too. These invisible relations are fertile soil for the germination of a myth, both for the Danes and the Japanese.

In my books, I have focused on the "actors" in the cultural relations between Denmark and

Japan and have tried to show how the observer of a foreign culture produces an unconsciously manipulated and reversed picture of it, and that the same observer forgets or is ignorant of the simple fact that he or she has inevitably been observed by those he or she has been observing. It sounds quite banal; nonetheless, it is true and quite significant. There exist many accounts of both countries—the Danish accounts of Japan and the Japanese accounts of Denmark—but these accounts, especially the old ones, have often been (and still are) uncontested without being critically commented on, simply because the reliability of the accounts was never verified. In my books, I have shed light on some mutual observations in connection with the same event, and I have examined and found those materials, which have hitherto been unknown to the Danish and the Japanese readers, respectively, and constructed them so that one can have a three-dimensional picture of the event. I have pointed out that observers themselves have been observed, and that observers' observations—not to mention their actions—have prompted a reaction in the form of a "re-observation," which has now produced an alternative version of the event. Besides, I have disclosed the conscious or unconscious manipulation that the observer has committed, and in so doing, I have also relativized such observations as well as the resultant descriptions. One should not approve any description about a foreign culture before one has examined it carefully and has read about it closely, especially when the describer cannot understand the language in question. My critical comments in this regard have also been directed to those researchers who uncritically have used and still use such materials both in Denmark and in Japan.

I'll stop my mini-keynote talk here by emphasizing the importance of being aware that our research is inevitably carried out as a cultural translation, consciously or unconsciously, and that our observation of any kind should be met with re-observation in order to authenticate our study of the relations between Europe and Japan.

Niels Bohr, the famous Danish quantum physicist, died in 1962, fifty years ago. His institute embodied the Copenhagen Spirit based on free research, free discussion, informal communication, and equality in cooperation. Researchers from many different countries worked joyfully as though they were playing games and enjoyed their stay in Copenhagen. As I am a great admirer of Niels Bohr and the Copenhagen Spirit, I suggest that we work together today in the same spirit.

Welcome Speech on behalf of the University of Copenhagen

Ulf Hedetoft

Dear Director General Komatsu, dear conference participants,

As Dean of the Faculty of Humanities it is my pleasure and privilege to welcome you to the University of Copenhagen and to thank you for the interest you have shown us and our Asian studies programmes with the jointly organized Overseas Symposium: *Rethinking "Japanese Studies," from Practices in the Nordic Region*.

I am delighted to see that it has been possible to organise such an ambitious and comprehensive symposium across geographical, institutional and academic boundaries—it is exactly this kind of international and interdisciplinary collaboration which the University of Copenhagen strives to strengthen and encourage.

Indeed, improved international relations, both in education and research, are crucial strategic focus areas for the University and the Faculty of Humanities.

An important step towards a more internationally oriented University of Copenhagen was taken when, in 2005, we joined the International Alliance of Research Universities—commonly known as IARU—which comprises ten of the world's leading research universities: Yale University, The University of Cambridge, and the University of Tokyo—just to mention a few. All IARU member universities are committed to establishing structures that give researchers and students the opportunity to engage in international research and teaching.

One such structure at the University of Copenhagen is the Asian Dynamics Initiative, one of the co-organisers of this symposium. When the Asian Dynamics Initiative was launched in 2008, it was with the express purpose of creating a common platform for new, interdisciplinary Asian studies. The initiative was also designed to coordinate existing research and teaching initiatives and forge new international partnerships.

That Asia was chosen as a focal point for a strategic initiative such as this at the University of Copenhagen was, of course, not a coincidence: for Denmark and the Western World, Asia has become increasingly important as a powerful and influential player on the global scene—politically, economically, culturally and scientifically; and in order to grasp the dynamics of Asia, we need to both understand *and* learn from the continent's vast variety of cultures, languages, societies, peoples, and histories. This requires, for example, a re-orientation towards intra-Asian relations, since in the West we tend to forget that Asian countries and cultures influence each other as much as they influence us. Just as Western countries and cultures influence each other.

The Asian Dynamics Initiative is helping us understand those complex Asian relationships, e.g., by collaborating with distinguished institutions such as Nichibunken and by bringing together scholars from different fields and cultures.

This is not to say, of course, that we did not engage in Asian Studies before the advent of the Asian Dynamics Initiative. Quite the contrary: the Asian Dynamics Initiative would not have been possible without the university's strong tradition for Asian language and area studies.

Indeed, the history of Asian Studies at the University of Copenhagen dates back fifty-two years to 1960, when Chinese Studies was established as a study programme, shortly after followed by Japanese Studies in 1968. Today, Asian Studies covers teaching and research within a wide variety of Asian countries and languages. It is on this solid platform—together with the research on Asia that has been conducted in disciplines such as anthropology, geography, political science and economy—that the Asian Dynamics Initiative stands.

These new movements and approaches to Asian and Japanese Studies, which you will be discussing over the next couple of days, are also noticeable elsewhere at the University of Copenhagen. Subjects and study programmes are being re-thought and re-organised across this 500-year-old university, sometimes at a dizzying but also necessary pace.

In other words, these developments are inevitable, and now more so than ever. The global challenges that we face call for interdisciplinary and international collaboration in order to be properly addressed, and we can no longer think of research subjects and study programmes as discrete, separate entities.

Nichibunken's Overseas Symposium is thus a prime example of the necessary and continuous discussions that researchers must have with each other about their subjects, in the true spirit of international and interdisciplinary collaboration.

I wish you all a fruitful and stimulating symposium and trust you will enjoy a pleasant stay in the capital of Denmark.

CONTRIBUTORS

Reiko Abe Auestad is Professor at University of Oslo, where she teaches modern and contemporary Japanese literature. Her areas of interest include modern Japanese literature, cultural and social developments in contemporary Japan. Although her doctoral thesis was on Natsume Sōseki (*Rereading Sōseki: Three Early Twentieth-Century Japanese Novels*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1998), she has written on various other modern authors such as Nakano Shigeharu, Ogino Anna, Murakami Haruki, and Kirino Natsuo. She is currently working on a selection of modern and contemporary Japanese novels with a focus on affect. She has also published essays on the family politics and welfare system in Japan and Norway from a comparative perspective ("Long-Term Care Insurance, marketization and the quality of care," *Japan Forum* 2010).

Alari Allik specializes in Classical Japanese Literature and Philosophy, and he is a Ph.D. candidate and also teaches at Tallinn University, Estonia. He is currently working on the self writing and death in *Hosshinshū* and *Hōjōki*. His publications in English include "Setsuwa and Self Writing: Witnessing Death in *Hosshinshū*," *Japanese Studies*, vol. 32 (2012); and "Practicing Time: Time and Practice in Deleuze and Dōgen," in James W. Heisig and Rein Raud, eds., *Classical Japanese Philosophy*, Nagoya: Nanzan Institute for Religion and Culture, 2010.

Araki Hiroshi is Professor at Nichibunken. He studied Japanese Literature at Kyoto University, and taught at Aichi Prefectural University, Osaka University, etc., before joining Nichibunken. He received his Ph.D. from Kyoto University in 2013. His current research interest is in expressions in classical Japanese literature and interdisciplinary analysis of their creation, as well as in international developments and methodologies in the study of Japanese literature. At Nichibunken he is organizing the team research project "Dreams and Representation: Media, History and Culture." He is the author of *Setsuwashū no kōsō to ishō: "Konjaku monogatarishū" no seiritsu to zengo* (Contexture and Design of the Collection of Narrative Tales: Study on the Konjaku Tales), Tokyo: Bensei Shuppan, 2012; and *Nihon bungaku niju no kao* (Japanese Literature Double Visages), Osaka University Press, 2007.

Jørn Borup is Associate Professor at Department of Culture and Society, Aarhus University, Denmark. He received his Ph.D. from the same university in 2002. Having a research focus on the Japanese contemporary society, he identifies himself as a specialist of religious studies, and from 2009 to 2012 served as Director of the Center for Contemporary Religion at the University. His recent publications include "Easternization of the East?: Zen and Spirituality as Distinct Cultural Narratives in Japan," *Journal of Global Buddhism*, 2014; and "Contemporary Buddhist Priests and Clergy," in *The Handbook of Contemporary Japanese Religions*, Leiden: Brill, 2012.

Frederick R. Dickinson is Professor of Japanese History at the University of Pennsylvania (U.S.). Born in Tokyo and raised in Kanazawa and Kyoto, Japan, he received an M.A. (1987) and Ph.D. (1993) in History from Yale University and also holds an M.A. in International Politics from Kyoto University (1986). He is the author of *War and National Reinvention: Japan in the Great War, 1914–1919*, Harvard University Asia Center, 1999; *Taishō tennō* (Taishō Emperor), Kyoto: Minerva Shobō, 2009; and *World War I and the Triumph of a New Japan, 1919–1930*, Cambridge University Press, 2013. He is currently working on a global history of modern Japan.

Patricia Fister is Professor at Nichibunken. Specializing in Japanese Art History and holding a Ph.D. from the University of Kansas, she has developed her academic career in Japan since 1991, and her research has had a unique focus on Japanese women artists of the Edo period and the art connected with Japan's imperial Buddhist convents. She is the author of *Art by Buddhist Nuns: Treasures from the Imperial Convents of Japan*, New York: Institute for Medieval Japanese Studies, Columbia University, 2003; and *Japanese Women Artists, 1600–1900*, Lawrence, Kansas: Spencer Museum of Art/Harper & Row, 1988.

Bart Gaens is Senior Research Fellow in the Global Security Research Program at the Finnish Institute of International Affairs, and Adjunct Professor at the University of Helsinki, Finland. Born in Belgium, he graduated from the University of Leuven. He studied early modern Japanese business history and obtained his Ph.D. from the Graduate University for Advanced Studies (Japan). More recently his research focus shifted to more contemporary studies on East Asian regionalism and Japan in the Asian regional context. He published in 2013: "Japan's troublesome territory: The entangled history of the three island disputes complicates finding a solution to any of them," *FIIA Comment*; and "Political change in Myanmar: Filtering the murky waters of 'disciplined democracy'," *FIIA Working Paper* 78.

Ulf Hedetoft is Dean of Humanities and Professor of International Studies at the University of Copenhagen. He directed the Academy for Migration Studies in Denmark between 2001 and 2009. Between 2008 and 2011 he was founding chair of Nordic Migration Research. He is currently editor-in-chief of *Social Inclusion*. Research interests include European nationalism in comparative perspective, international migration, and political cultures in Europe and North America. His list of scholarly publications comprises about 200 items. Work in recent years includes contributions to *The Cambridge Handbook of Sociocultural Psychology* (Cambridge University Press, 2007), *Russia and Globalization* (Woodrow Wilson Center Press/Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008), *Nations and Nationalism* (ABC-CLIO, 2008), *Holy Nations and Global Identities* (Brill, 2009), *Empires and Autonomy* (University of British Columbia Press, 2009), *The Multiculturalism Backlash* (Routledge, 2010), and *Challenging Multiculturalism* (Edinburgh University Press, 2013).

Imaizumi Yoshiko is Senior Research Fellow at the Meiji Shrine Research Institute in Tokyo. After graduating from the University of Tokyo, specializing in Comparative Literature and Culture, she worked as a magazine editor; then took a program of Shinto studies at Kokugakuin University and obtained a Shinto priest's diploma. She received her Ph.D. from SOAS, University of London, in 2007, and recently published *Sacred Space in the Modern City: The Fractured Pasts of Meiji Shrine, 1912–1958,* from Brill. Her publications in Japanese include: *Meiji Jingū: Sengo fukkō no kiseki*, Tokyo: Kajima Shuppankai, 2008; *Meiji Jingū: "Dentō" o tsukutta dai purojekuto*, Tokyo: Shinchōsha, 2013.

Iwashita Tetsunori is Professor in Japanese History at Meikai Universiry, Japan. He studied at Aoyama Gakuin University. He is particularly well known for his studies on the information flow in the Japanese early modern society and how the information and knowledge on foreign cultures worked to introduce modernization processes into Edo Period Japan. Among his major publications are: *Edo no kaigai jōhō nettowāku* (Networks of Overseas Information in Edo), Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2006; and *Yokoku sarete ita Perī raikō to bakumatsu jōhō sensō* (Perry's Arrival Foreseen and the Information Wars in Bakumatsu Japan), Tokyo: Yōsensha, 2006.

Komatsu Kazuhiko is Director-General of Nichibunken. He studied Anthropology and Folklore, and holds an M.A. degree from Tokyo Metropolitan University. He joined Nichibunken in 1997 after long teaching experiences at Osaka University. His main interest has been in the comparative research on Asian folk religions, and his studies on Japanese *yōkai* (monstrous beings) are particularly well known. Among his major works are *Hyakki yagyō emaki no nazo* (The Mystery of Night Procession of the Hundred Demons), Tokyo: Shūeisha, 2008; *Izanagi-ryū no kenkyū* (Studies of Izanagi-ryū), Tokyo: Kadokawa Gakugei Shuppan, 2011. He was awarded a Purple Ribbon Medal (Shijuhōshō) in 2013.

Gunilla Lindberg-Wada obtained her Ph.D. on *Genji Monogatari* at Stockholm University in 1983, and has served, since 1990, as Chair Professor of Japanese Studies at the University's Department of Oriental Languages. Between 1996 and 2001 she was Director of the Department. She directed for ten years from 1996 a multidisciplinary research project "Literature and Literary History in Global Contexts" funded by the Swedish Research Council, and as a result five volumes of articles in English, each focusing on a special complex of questions in connection with the global history of literature, were published in 2006 (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter). She is the first and current Chair of the Scholarship Foundation for Studies of the Japanese Society founded by the Ministry of Finance of Sweden in 1992.

Liu Jianhui is Professor at Nichibunken and specializes in Comparative Literature and Culture between Japan and China. He studied at Liaoning University in China, then Kobe University, where he received his Ph.D. in 1990, and taught at Nankai University and Peking University

in China before joining Nichibunken in 1999. His current interest is in the image of "others" and old colonial culture. His major works include: *Nitchū nihyaku-nen: Sasaeau kindai* (Two Hundred Years of Sino-Japan Relations), Tokyo: Takeda Random House Japan, 2012; and *Mato Shanghai: Nihon chishikijin no "kindai" taiken* (Seduction and Repulsion: Shanghai in the Japanese Imagination), Tokyo: Kōdansha, 2000.

Yoichi Nagashima is Professor at the University of Copenhagen. Having originally studied Russian Literature, he received Ph.D. in Japanese Literature in 1982 from the University of Copenhagen. While known as a specialist of Mori Ōgai, he has been keenly interested in the history of cultural relations between Denmark and Japan, and active in studies based on Danish and Japanese primary sources. His important works include: *De dansk-japanskekulturelleforbindelser 1600–1873* (Cultural Relations between Denmark and Japan), Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum, University of Copenhagen, 2003; *Mori Ōgai: Bunka no hon'yakusha* (Mori Ōgai: A Translator of Cultures), Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2005.

Rein Raud is Professor of Japanese Studies at the University of Helsinki and a Distinguished Research Fellow in Cultural Theory at the Estonian Institute of Humanities, Tallinn University. Born in Estonia, he graduated from St. Petersburg University, Japanese Studies Department, and obtained his Ph.D. in Literary Theory from the University of Helsinki in 1994. He has published widely on Japanese literature and philosophy and translated classical Japanese literature into Estonian, including an anthology of poems "Heart is the Only Flower" and the collection of poetry by Ikkyū entitled "Crazy Cloud" published by Tallinn University Press. He held the office of Rector of Tallinn University from 2006 to 2011, and currently serves as President of the European Association of Japanese Studies (EAJS).

Marie H. Roesgaard is Associate Professor, Department of Cross-Cultural and Regional Studies, University of Copenhagen. She finished the Ph.D. program in 1994 at East Asian Institute, University of Aarhus, with her dissertation "Rhetoric in Japanese Education Reform—An Analysis of the 1980s." Her studies remain focusing on the Japanese education, and her recent publications include: "The Ideal Citizen," Globalization, and the Japanese Response: Risk, Gate-keeping and Moral Education in Japan," in D. Blake Willis and J. Rappleye, eds., *Reimagining Japanese Education: Borders, Transfers, Circulations and the Comparative*, Oxford Studies in Comparative Education, Symposium Books, 2011.

Aike P. Rots is affiliated with the Department of Culture Studies and Oriental Languages at the University of Oslo, where he recently completed his Ph.D. dissertation on ideological and institutional developments in Shinto today, entitled *Forests of the Gods: Shinto, Nature, and Sacred Space in Contemporary Japan*. He has a background in both Japanese studies and the study of religion, and has conducted research on religion in modern and contemporary Japan.

In addition, he is interested in a variety of theoretical topics, such as the configuration of the categories "religion," "sacred" and "secular" in different cultural and political contexts. His recent publications include "Ambigious Identities: Negotiating Christianity and 'Japaneseness'," in John K. Nelson and Inken Prohl, eds., *Handbook of Contemporary Japanese Religions*, Leiden: Brill, 2012.

Laeticia Söderman is a graduate student of East Asian studies at the University of Helsinki. She obtained her M.A. in East Asian studies from the University of Helsinki in 2010, and is currently working on her Ph.D. dissertation on Shin Buddhist thought and practice in Medieval Japan supported by the Shinshū Ōtani-ha (Higashi Honganji) Fellowship for Pure Land Studies. Her main research interests are how religious sensibilities and experiences are expressed in Medieval Japanese texts and which textual strategies are used to express them. Her other publications include "Writing as Participation: Textual Streams and Argumentative Patterns in Shinran's *Kyōgyōshinshō*," in James W. Heisig and Rein Raud, eds., *Frontiers of Japanese Philosophy* 7, Nagoya: Nanzan Institute for Religion and Culture, 2010.

Noriko Takei-Thunman is since February 2013 Professor Emeritus at the University of Gothenburg, where she served as the head of the Japanese Division from the mid 1990s. Born in Tokyo, she graduated from the Department of French Language and Literature at The University of Tokyo. After one year's study of French language in Paris, she moved to Sweden and obtained her Ph.D. in Japanology at the University of Stockholm in 1983. Her research field is modern literature (among others Mishima Yukio) and narratology. She has also worked in the field of translation studies. Since 1995, she has been working with linked haikai poetry and overseas modern haiku.

Mark Teeuwen is Professor of Japanese Studies at the University of Oslo. Born in the Netherlands, he received his Ph.D. from Leiden University in 1996, and his thesis was published as *Watarai Shinto: An Intellectual History of the Outer Shrine in Ise*, CNWS, 1996. He has since published widely in the field of Japan's history of religion, with a focus on shrines and Shinto. A recent publication on this topic is *A New History of Shinto* (co-authored with John Breen), Wiley Blackwell, 2010. He is also interested in the intellectual history of Tokugawa Japan. Recent publications in this area are *Uncharted Waters: Intellectual Life in the Edo Period* (co-edited with Anna Beerens), Brill, 2012; and *Lust, Commerce, and Corruption: An Account of What I Have Seen and Heard by an Edo Samurai* (co-edited with Kate W. Nakai), Columbia University Press, 2014.

NICHIBUNKEN'S OVERSEAS SYMPOSIUM PROGRAM

Rethinking "Japanese Studies," from Practices in the Nordic Region
「日本研究」再考——北欧の実践から

Co-organized by: The Section of Japanese Studies and the Asian Dynamics Initiative, The University of Copenhagen

22–24 August 2012

Day 1

*Invited participants only.

14:00–17:30

Cultural Tour of the City of Copenhagen
コペンハーゲン市内文化ツアー

The tour bus departs from and returns to the hotel. Please note that the tour includes some walking and a canal tour.
バスはホテルから出発し、ホテルに戻ります。一部、徒歩による見学と、ボートでの運河ツアーが含まれます。

19:00–

Opening Ceremony & Welcome Reception Hosted by the University of Copenhagen
開会式・コペンハーゲン大学主催ウェルカム・レセプション
Venue: 3rd Floor, NIAS (Nordic Institute of Asian Studies) Building (Address: Leifsgade 33)

Ulf Hedetoft ウルフ・ヒデトフト
Dean, Faculty of Humanities, University of Copenhagen
コペンハーゲン大学人文学部長

Komatsu Kazuhiko 小松和彦
Director General, Nichibunken 日文研所長

Day 2

Venue: Multisal (21.0.54), Building 21, Faculty of Humanities (Address: Njalsgade 118)

10:00–

Keynote Lecture 1
Komatsu Kazuhiko 小松和彦 (Nichibunken) *Lecture in Japanese.
Reflections on Japanese Yōkai Culture
日本の妖怪観念の基層を考える

<Coffee Break 11:00–11:30>

11:30–

Session 1:
From Religion to Popular Culture: New Readings of Texts and Spaces
テキストと空間の新しい読みをめぐって
——宗教からポピュラー・カルチャーまで

Convener: **Mark Teeuwen マーク・テーウェン** (University of Oslo)

Speakers:

1) 11:45– **Patricia Fister パトリシア・フィスター** (Nichibunken)
In Memoriam? Rethinking the Portrait Sculptures of Princess-Abbesses Enshrined in the Dharma Hall at Shinnyoji Temple
追悼？ 真如寺法堂内に安置された皇女尼僧の彫刻肖像を再考する

2) 12:10– **Laeticia Söderman レティシア・ソーデルマン** (University of Helsinki)
Medieval Buddhist Textuality: *Kyōgyōshinshō* as Literature
中世仏教とテクスチュアリティー——文学としての教行信証

3) 12:35– **Alari Allik アラリ・アリク** (Tallinn University)
The Concept of Final Thought-Moment in Buddhist Setsuwa
仏教説話における臨終正念の概念について

<Lunch Break 13:00–14:10>

4) 14:10– **Araki Hiroshi 荒木浩** (Nichibunken)
The Visual Image Media and the Narrative Literature: Re-thinking Setsuwa-bungaku Studies in Post War Japan
ビジュアルイメージメディアと伝承文学——戦後の説話文学研究をめぐって

5) 14:35– **Jørn Borup ヨーン・ボールプ** (Aarhus University)
From Elite Zen to Popular Zen: Readings of Text and Practice in Japan and the West
エリートの禅から大衆の禅へ——日本と西洋におけるテキストの読解と実践

6) 15:00– **Reiko Abe Auestad 安倍玲子** (University of Oslo)
Between History and Heritage: The Tropes of Forests and Mountains in Tsushima Yūko' s *Nara Report*
歴史と文化的遺産の間で——津島祐子の『ナラ・レポート』における森と山

<Coffee Break 15:25–15:55>

7) 15:55– **Imaizumi Yoshiko 今泉宜子** (Meiji Jingū Research Institute)
Order and Disorder in Meiji Shrine: Festive Events and Practices in 1920
明治神宮における秩序と逸脱——鎮座時奉祝空間の編成と実践（1920 年）

8) 16:20– **Aike P. Rots アイケ・ロッツ** (University of Oslo)
The Rediscovery of "Sacred Space" in Contemporary Japan: Intrinsic Quality or Discursive Strategy?
日本における「聖なる空間」の再発見―本質か、それとも戦略か?

16:45–18:00

Discussion: **Sueki Fumihiko 末木文美士** (Nichibunken)—All participants 全員

* After Session 1 finishes, there will be an informal talk by Egami Toshinori (Nichibunken Librarian) on overseas Japan resources. 第 1 セッション終了後、在外日本関連資料に関するインフォーマル・トーク（日文研司書 江上敏哲）を予定しています。自由にご参加ください。

Day 3

Venue: Multisal (21.0.54), Building 21, Faculty of Humanities (Address: Njalsgade 118)

10:00– **Keynote Lecture 2**

Rein Raud レイン・ラウド (University of Helsinki)
What is Japanese about Japanese Philosophy?
日本の哲学の日本らしさをめぐって

<Coffee Break 11:00–11:30>

11:30– **Session 2:**
Japan and Europe: Leading to Globalized "Japanese Studies"
日本とヨーロッパ——グローバル化された「日本研究」に向けて

Convener: **Yoichi Nagashima 長島要一** (University of Copenhagen)

Speakers:

1) 11:45– **Iwashita Tetsunori 岩下哲典** (Meikai University) *Presentation in Japanese.
Information about Napoleon in Bakumatsu Japan
幕末日本とナポレオン情報

2) 12:10– **Liu Jianhui 劉建輝** (Nichibunken) *Presentation in Japanese.
Another Path towards "Modern": Roles of Canton and Shanghai in the Japan-West Interchange during the Nineteenth Century
もう一つの「近代（モダン）」ロード—— 19 世紀の日欧交流における広東、上海の役割

3) 12:35– **Margaret Mehl マーガレット・メール** (University of Copenhagen)
Western Music and Japan
西洋音楽と日本

<Lunch Break 13:00–14:10>

4) 14:10– **Marie H. Roesgaard マリー・ロースゴー** (University of Copenhagen)
Globalization in Japan: The Case of Moral Education
日本とグローバル化——道徳教育の事例から

5) 14:35– **Bart Gaens バルト・ガーンズ** (Finnish Institute of International Affairs)
Japan, Europe, and East Asian Regionalism
日本、ヨーロッパと東アジア地域主義

6) 15:00– **Frederick R. Dickinson フレデリック・ディッキンソン** (University of Pennsylvania)
From "International" to "Global": Diplomatic Reflections on Modern Japan beyond a West European World
外交史からグローバル史へ——日本近代史の脱西欧化に向けて

<Coffee Break 15:25–15:55>

7) 15:55– **Noriko Takei-Thunman トゥンマン武井典子** (University of Gothenburg)
Haiku: A Bridge between Sweden and Japan
俳句を通しての日瑞交流

8) 16:20– **Gunilla Lindberg-Wada グニッラ・リンドバーグ・ワダ** (Stockholm University)
Japanese Literature in Global Contexts
世界の中の日本文学

16:45–18:00

Discussion: **Inaga Shigemi 稲賀繁美** (Nichibunken)—All participants 全員

19:00– **Closing Ceremony & Farewell Dinner Hosted by Nichibunken**
閉会式及び日文研主催フェアウェル・ディナー *Invited participants only.
Venue: Restaurant "Ravelinen" (Address: Torvegade 79)

Kuramoto Kazuhiro 倉本一宏
Senior Research Coordinator, Nichibunken 日文研研究調整主幹

Marie H. Roesgaard マリー・ロースゴー
Head, Steering group of ADI, University of Copenhagen
コペンハーゲン大学アジアン・ダイナミクス・イニシアティブ運営委員長

Day 2 & 3

General Discussants: **Kuramoto Kazuhiro 倉本一宏** (Nichibunken)
Ogawa Akihiro 小川晃弘 (Stockholm University)
Kirsten Refsing キーステン・レフシン (University of Copenhagen)
Jens Sejrup イエンス・サイルップ (University of Copenhagen)
Dick Stegewerns ディック・ステゲウェルンス (University of Oslo)
Yamada Shōji 山田奨治 (Nichibunken)

Coordinator (MC): **Sano Mayuko 佐野真由子** (Nichibunken)

Rethinking "Japanese Studies"
from Practices in the Nordic Region
「日本研究」再考――北欧の実践から
―北欧シンポジウム 2012 ―

非売品

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発行日　2014 年 3 月 31 日

発　行　国際日本文化研究センター
京都市西京区御陵大枝山町 3–2
〒 610–1192　電話 075–335–2222

印　刷　為国印刷株式会社
京都市中京区西ノ京馬代町 6–16
〒 604–8457　電話 075–462–7889

ISSN 0915-2822

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FOR JAPANESE STUDIES

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